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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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THE protest of the State Department against the rigors of the British interference with American commerce comes late, but it comes better late than never. American merchants have seen an ever-increasing burden of restriction laid upon their right to trade not only with belligerents but with neutrals, and they have seen their own State Department and public opinion submit meekly to the British exactions. Because we sympathized with the Allies, we have allowed them to do what they pleased with American commerce. Finally, however, American sympathy was over-strained, and the State Department has come to the assistance of the American merchant. An attempt will be made to prevent the British sea power from suppressing almost entirely the right of neutrals to trade with the enemies of England. That the British Government should wish to increase in every way the military advantage which it enjoys from control of the sea is natural. As a result of this control the Allies can purchase all the military supplies they need in this country and Germany cannot legally protest. Also as the result of this control, Great Britain can prevent the shipment of military supplies to Germany, in which she is within her rights. But when a large amount of innocent commerce is prevented or handicapped under the cover of belligerent necessities, neutrals may well believe that British sea power is becoming objectionable to them as well as to Britain's enemies. It is convenient to England to lay down rules and definitions which suppress innocent with guilty trading, but it is very inconvenient to us. She will do well not to attempt to assess any more of the cost of her quarrel with Germany on American trade.

GOVERNOR Colquitt of Texas has made a venomous attack on Mr. Wilson, which appears to be the opening gun of a concerted campaign against his renomination. The President is criticized for everything that he has done and for everything that he has failed to do, but particularly for the spirit and substance of the proclamation is sectional, narrow, blind and factious. It ought to rally to Mr. Wilson's defence every Democrat who has any sense of fair play, any conception of the extraordinary difficulties of the President's situation, any desire for Democratic success, or any statesmanlike view of American national interests and problems. The mere publication of Mr. Colquitt's array of grievances would be sufficient to condemn the attack to futility, were it not for one menacing and sinister consideration. The state of Texas and in general the Southwest is suffering from a business prostration even more complete than that which prevails throughout the rest of the country. The deprivation is widespread and acute. Some of the economic legislation of the administration has appeared to discriminate against the agricultural products of that region. Nothing adequate has been or could be done to relieve the distress. A condition has been created which may result in a local agrarian revolt, which will be aggressively sectional, and which will be too preoccupied with its own grievances to consider the welfare of the Democratic party or that of the rest of the country. An onslaught at once so bitter and so narrow must become either comparatively negligible or extremely dangerous.

ATTENTION is called in another column of this issue to the novel and important work which is being undertaken by the Research Department of the Harvard School of Business Administration. Mr. Melvin T. Copeland and his associates are investigating the conditions of efficiency in various branches of the retail trade, partly for the purpose of preparing systems of accounting which will help small retailers to conduct their business at a low cost. In so far as the retailer is willing to benefit from their work, he will be able to standardize his business and to cut out many sources of waste. It puts at his service the results of the same scientific analysis of business efficiency

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sistance remains to be seen, but unless he is willing to benefit, the importance of his function in the system of distribution is bound to be steadily curtailed. He is beset on every side by aggressive and able enemies, such as mail-order houses, department stores, chains of stores, and cooperative consumers' associations. All over the industrial world his more resourceful and better organized competitors are forcing him to the wall. The mortality among small retail traders is enormous and brings with it much economic waste and much individual suffering. The retailer has the advantage of intense personal preoccupation with his business and frequently of indefatigable industry; but he has a poor chance against his competitors unless he can secure some of the benefits of organization and standardization. The attempt to supply him with these advantages may or may not succeed. In our opinion some more cooperative form of retail distribution has a better chance of ultimate success. But as long as the small retailers are fighting to maintain their position, every intelligent effort to increase their efficiency should be welcomed. The more efficient they become, the more efficient any substitute for them will have to be made.

IN an earlier issue we found occasion to question the propriety and expediency of a program of publicity put forward by the American Electric Railway Association. The program involves "influencing the sources of public opinion" through the formulation and teaching in our colleges of what the Association considers correct principles on public service questions—these "correct principles" having to do with such matters as capitalization, rate regulation, franchises, etc., in which the members of the Association are deeply interested. A correspondent whose communication we print elsewhere assures us that the integrity of college instruction is in no wise threatened by such a special interest propaganda; let the paid advocate shower fallacies upon teachers and students; are we to suppose that these fallacies will be swallowed whole? Such was certainly not our supposition. We should be the last to believe that college instructors and students would prove susceptible to the blandishments of even the most accomplished publicity expert. Nor was it our belief that the members of the Electric Railway Association are "ravening wolves." We assume that they are gentlemen of ability and integrity. But we also assume that they are good business men, ready to defend their own private interests, which are at times harmonious with the public interest, at times antagonistic to it. For this reason we are compelled to reject our correspondent's view that the question at issue is one of sus special pleading; and the introduction of the latter into our educational institutions is certain to be prejudicial to the interests of the companies and of the public alike. It is a frequent complaint of the franchise companies that they are hampered in their endeavors to serve the public by the unreasoning popular distrust resting upon them. Why take measures calculated to increase that distrust? Our correspondent adduces excellent instances of the unfortunate results of "mis-publicity." The Colorado coal operators are certainly in a better position to offer "practical" information on the labor war than are most persons who have written about it, yet even our correspondent treats their carefully composed pamphlets with contempt.

THE *Electric Railway Journal,* in its issue of December fifth, asserts that we have quite mistaken the purposes of the Association program: "We hasten to reassure the alarmed critic, whose fears for the purity of the well-springs of knowledge would perhaps be justified if he had correctly understood the American Electric Railway Association proposals as to educational propaganda." What the Association is really aiming at, the editor sets forth, is that "the teacher and student of economics shall have practical as well as theoretical experience. . . . The most successful teachers in engineering, as well as in medicine and surgery, are those who give part of their time or have given a large part of their time to practical work in their chosen fields . . . and who conduct their study of the science in which they are engaged outside as well as inside the college walls. We believe that the same rules should apply to a thorough prosecution of the study of railway economics." It appears to be a fair inference that the Association proposes that courses of instruction dealing with such matters as capitalization, rates and franchises should be turned over to men who are in the employ of the companies, or at least have given much of their lives to such employment. This would be a wholly acceptable proposition if the questions at issue did not always involve some conflict of interest between the companies and the public. It is the right of the companies to make the best terms they can, and it is the duty of the public to hold the companies down to the lowest terms compatible with good service and a due regard for private rights. The situation is one in which all manner of misunderstandings, injurious to both parties, will continually recur. Educational institutions, if they succeed in maintaining a strictly neutral position, may do much to eliminate such misunderstandings. Let them, however, once appear to have listened sympathetically to a partisan

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conservative institutions recently found it necessary to accept the resignation of an able professor who had effected that happy reconciliation between "theory" and "practice" which the *Electric Railway Journal* wishes to see generally in vogue.

PRESIDENT Wilson's unpleasantness with the Senate about patronage has become more sharply defined. The President is not trying to break down the Senatorial privilege of naming the Federal office-holders. He is only refusing to appoint the nominees of certain Senators, such as O'Gorman, Reed and Martine, who have apparently been making objectionable recommendations. Mr. Wilson is presumably right in rejecting the nominees of these gentlemen, and in this as in other cases he is to be congratulated upon the enemies that he has made within his own party, but the narrowing of the scope of the quarrel has curtailed its interest. Although Mr. Wilson is fighting against the specific effects of a bad system of appointment, he is not fighting on behalf of a better system. He is not making the fight on behalf of administrative independence and integrity. He has not raised the larger issue; considering his situation and responsibilities, he may be wise not to raise it; but some day it will have to be raised, either by him or one of his immediate successors.

ANOTHER Vice Report has just reached us, this time from Wisconsin. The committee which produced it was industrious; it has investigated a great deal. But the one thing it gives no evidence of having investigated is the question of its own prejudices and preconceptions. It has interviewed "madams," written down "typical life histories," looked into roadhouses. It has prepared a large number of bills for the legislature. It has delved meticulously into facts which everyone knows; it has slid gaily by the underlying conceptions which every one shirks. For in true American fashion the committeemen show no signs of having paused in the flight of investigation to ask themselves whether the alternative to vice was celibacy, or the dogma of sin a sufficient philosophy for men dealing with the modern world.

WE forget too easily the paradoxes which we ask our public officials to solve. We ask them to swear allegiance to the Constitution, including that section of it which guarantees freedom of speech. We ask them also to take an oath that they will preserve order. But when the constitutional right to say what you think leads to unpleasant and unconstitutional results, what is a Police Commissioner to do then? Which part of our man in a modern democracy has a most uneviable position. He has to go to the street meetings, listen to hours of wind and rant, and then, with the nice discrimination of a prophet and psychologist, decide whether a forbidden statement is or is not likely to lead so directly to disorder that it falls within the prohibitions of the law. He makes these judgments scrutinized on one side by the Free Speech League, on the other by those watchmen of the night who protect civilization from the top of an editorial column. Neither can help the official very much, for the Free Speech League has a temperamental dislike of the policeman, and the editorial writers suffer inner panic whenever speech is free. No real effort is made by either wing to understand that a modern policeman is thrown without warning or preparation straight against the dilemma which sociologists contemplate and puzzle over under the words liberty and order.

WE are able to recall Socialist predictions a few months ago that Mr. Henry Ford had thrown a bombshell into capitalism, had finally and completely exposed it. At the same time a good many conservative newspapers agreed to regard Mr. Ford as one who would scuttle the ship. It looked as if he might. First he insisted on "spoiling" labor with wages that made the I. W. W. gasp, then, as if to add insult to injury, he reduced the price to the consumer. He shared profits with everybody within reach, and his profits, like the love which Dante speaks of, never grew less because they were shared. At the end of one year of madness, Mr. Ford receives the blessing of the New York *Times Annalist*—"his adventure in sociology has paid wonderfully." We wish we could join the chorus, but we are compelled to defer our own blessing until we hear that Mr. Ford has committed the supreme insanity of sharing not only his profits, but his power.

ON any of these clear, cold nights, when the stars possess themselves of the sky, is it sentimental to reflect that a few hours earlier these same stars wheeled their slow gaze over France, Belgium, Servia, Poland, Russia; over trenches, roofless walls, riddled huts, shattered woods, gun-swept fields; over a stiffened horse, or a man stretched to heaven, turning eyes that will shine no more toward stars that will shine forever? The gaze of those warring millions is lifted, between baleful moments, to that serene procession overhead, "the army of unalterable law." And as our eyes look, too, do we not feel the simple earthly bond that makes one of us all, here in peaceful America and there in aching Europe? In the com-

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Lowes Dickinson's Plan

WRITING in the *Atlantic Monthly,* Mr. Lowes Dickinson attempts to point the moral of the war and to offer a way out. His theory is that wars are made by governments without the consent and against the interest of their subjects; they are made because the governmental mind is obsessed with the illusion that states are "natural enemies," that they have always been so and always will be, that force is the only arbiter between them. This fantasy of the governing caste, says Mr. Dickinson, is what rules the state, and through control of foreign policy and the press drags the population to slaughter. The remedy is to shatter the illusion, to assert against the criminal nonsense of the governing mind the humanity and commonsense of ordinary people.

This argument is put out with such personal feeling, it is so genial and lovable in manner, so obviously fine in its intention, that it tends to brush criticism aside and to make objection seem crass. But after all, Mr. Dickinson is engaged in something more than the writing of a literary essay, and the first question is whether he is dealing with realities. Peace will have to be built on a very hard-headed basis or it will be fragile and illusory. But it is just this hard-headedness which Mr. Dickinson's argument seems to lack. In our opinion he himself is building on an illusion, and if his doctrine prevails among the workers for peace their passion will be misdirected, and their disappointment will be as deep as their hopes are high.

To prove these assertions, we need not go beyond the example which Mr. Dickinson uses, the case of Russia and her desire to hold Constantinople. Mr. Dickinson dismisses this ambition with the statement that "for all purposes of trade, for all peace purposes, the Dardanelles are open. And it is the interest of all nations alike that they should remain so." What he is assuming here is that it makes no economic difference whether Constantinople is under one political government or another. This is the center of Mr. Dickinson's argument, and it rests on the doctrine of Norman Angell that "political power is a consideration irrelevant to economic power."

Is it irrelevant in a case like that of the Dardanelles? The Black Sea region is already a great agricultural exporting region; it is destined most probably to become the industrial center of Russia. But to carry out goods, Russian ships must pass through a narrow Turkish strait. Mr. Dickinson says that for all "peace purposes" the passage is free. Is it? Let us suppose that Mexico held New York harbor, or that Ecuador held Liverpool, by the use of governmental power in half developed and Ecuador were highly efficient governments imbued with the doctrine of absolute free trade. Then commerce might pass through easily. But if Mexicans or Ecuadorians took it into their heads to exercise sovereignty by setting up a tariff zone around New York or Liverpool, who would regard political power as irrelevant to economic power? Certainly not the Manchester exporter as he paid his customs tax to the pleasant official from Ecuador.

Although England is in no danger from Ecuador, there are nations in the world which suffer just as fantastically. There is the case of Servia, shut off from a "window on the sea." Servia exports pigs, when she isn't fighting for the privilege of exporting them. But to export anything she has to run the gauntlet of an Austrian tariff to the north, Albanian and Greek discrimination to the west and south. Shut off from the sea, she is like a man trying to get out of a restaurant who has still to tip the waiter, the headwaiter, the girl who took care of his hat, and the boy who brushed it.

Political power is not in the least irrelevant to economic power. Mr. Dickinson has no doubt heard of a thing which we Americans call vulgarly "dollar diplomacy." European powers do not call it that, but they practice it. They call it staking out "spheres of influence," and there is nothing sentimental or illusory about it. The nation that can secure political control of an undeveloped country can decide who shall receive the mining rights and the railroad franchises, can fix railroad rates to favor its own manufacturers, can use all the methods which Americans describe as restraint of trade. It may have been dishonest, it certainly wasn't a delusion, when capitalists in those dreadful early days of this republic bought political power to further economic ends. A legislature or a governor was generally worth the price in this country, and we presume that they would be worth the price in Asia Minor. If German bureaucrats governed Morocco, they would, we suppose, be good to their friends, almost all of whom have at least a nominal residence east of Belgium, and French capitalists might then be prospecting fresh mines and pastures new.

Mr. Dickinson ignores these considerations when he speaks of national antagonisms arising "because a few men of the military and diplomatic caste have a theory about states, their interests and destinies." He ignores the monopolies, the use of tariffs, the special privileges of which political power is the instrument. He does not face the fact that in every country there are exporters of goods and capital, concession-hunters and traders, who stand to gain

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in say India or China. Since Germany has brought the doctrine of protection to its highest point, it would make a very great difference to the commerce of other nations if Germany developed a world-empire.

How little reality there is in Mr. Dickinson's contention may be seen by analyzing his concrete proposals. Apart from the shattering of the great illusion of the governmental mind by a propaganda, he suggests a settlement of Europe on the basis of nationality, capped by a League of Europe to maintain the peace.

Now there are all sorts of reasons for trying to found states on nationality, and the only reason against the proposal is the reason on which Mr. Dickinson's article is built. He tells us on one page that "ordinary people, in the course of their daily lives, do not think at all in terms of the state." Then what difference does it make to people of the same nationality that they should be under different governments, and how is the world's peace to be assured by gathering into one state people who do not care about the state? Either the people have an interest in the state or they have not, but surely it is futile for Mr. Dickinson to argue in one place against the German contention that their emigrants are "lost," and in another that the Danes of Schleswig-Holstein should go back to Denmark. And what does he mean by telling us that in the event of an Austro-German victory "Italy and the Balkans will be pillaged to the benefit of Austria, and Russia rolled back—though that would be all to the good—from her ambition to expand in the West." Is Mr. Dickinson also afflicted with the "governmental mind," that he should talk of "benefit" to Austria and pronounce it good that "Russia" be rolled back? What does he mean by telling us that "the English and the French must not take the German colonies, or the Russians the Baltic coast, the Balkans, or Constantinople," for what difference does it make, except to the "governmental mind," who exercises political power?

As for the League of Europe, surely no one here would wish to obstruct the plan. But if the League is to be based on nothing more realistic than an absence of governmental thinking, it will be a very precarious league. Every argument advanced by Mr. Dickinson is based on the assumption of absolute free trade in the world, yet in his plan of peace he says not one syllable about how tariffs and discriminations and monopolies are to be wiped out. The conflict between Germany and England is world-wide, yet Mr. Dickinson is thinking only of rectified frontiers in Europe.

When he proposes so readily a League of Europe with a police force to carry out its jurisdiction, has he considered the possibility of civil war within the League, they would presumably be attacked on all sides. But they are now attacked on all sides. We had on this continent a league of states with a central government, a Supreme Court, and an army. In 1861 some of the states seceded, and the struggle which followed, called a Civil War, was a terrible conflict. Has Mr. Dickinson faced the fact that a League of Europe would be based on the *status quo*, would be a sort of legalization of every existing injustice? And how does he propose to amend peacefully the constitution of Europe if some nation objects too seriously?

To no one of these absolutely crucial questions does he even suggest an answer. And the reason is that Mr. Dickinson is really trusting to a spiritual conversion, to so vast an illumination of reason and good-will that any plan would be worked. He is perfectly right. If the world could feel and think as he wishes it to, any reform would be possible but no reform would be necessary. It is a counsel of perfection, like that to which Bacon referred when he said that "as for the philosophers, they make imaginary laws for imaginary commonwealths, and their discourses are as the stars, which give little light because they are so high."

Security for Neutrals

MANIFESTLY the most absorbing incident of the present war in the eyes of the Americans has been the violation by Germany of Belgian territory. The undeserved sufferings of the people of Belgium have touched them to the quick. The flagrant disregard of public law has aroused their indignation and apprehension. They have come to realize that the United States as an essentially neutral and pacific power had a peculiar interest in the inviolacy of Belgium. Other incidents and consequences of the war might be treated with disinterested neutrality as involving only European issues; but the tragedy of Belgium implicitly compromised the welfare of the United States and the future of all the American peoples. A world in which a Belgium could be violated was a world in which national inoffensiveness offered no security against attack, and in which a pacifist democratic ideal would have to fight for its life.

Interested, however, as Americans are in the case of Belgium, they read widely different lessons into the fact of her violation and its consequences. The idea that the United States should have made an explicit protest against such an international crime is regarded by many American lovers of peace as not merely foolish but vicious. Some of them go further and condemn the Belgians themselves for offering violent resistance to the invasion of Bel-

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claring that the Belgians brought all their sufferings upon themselves by refusing to grant to the benevolent invaders the permission to use their territory as a basis for military operations against France and England.

Professor Charles Thaddeus Terry of Columbia University is a pacifist whose opinion coincides in this respect with that of the Germans. In his eyes Belgium is an awful example of the folly of resisting force with force. He is reported as saying: "If Belgium had had no armament at all her country would be intact to-day. Her thousands of dead would be alive and happy. Her people would not be scattered abroad and starving. . . . Yet her honor would have been vindicated in the court of world opinion, and any damage which she had suffered would have been required to be paid by the same world opinion." Professor Terry adds that he would not have had her yield without a struggle. He is quite willing for Belgium to put up a stubborn verbal resistance to German invasion. But she must resist only from the pulpit, the platform and the printing press. Inasmuch as her physical losses and suffering are great in proportion to her power of physical protest, she can avoid her sufferings and losses only by refusing to employ arms in the cause of her own inviolacy.

If Belgium had behaved as Professor Terry advises, no court of world opinion could ever have repaired the ensuing damage. Not even a decree of the Supreme Court can restore his lost self-respect to a coward. By allowing Germany to attack France and England through her territory, she would have become for military purposes a part of Germany, a useful accomplice which Germany would have treated eventually with deserved contempt. A German victory might have left her people for the time being "alive and happy," but only so long as France and England could no longer fight. Her "happiness" would have meant disaster for France and grave peril of invasion for England. If France and England had not been completely crushed, they would have been obliged in this war or the next to fight Germany for the possession of Belgium, and to reduce her to the condition of an Anglo-French instead of a German dependency. When an Anglo-French army invaded Belgium the Belgians would have lost their happiness as well as their self-respect. Their cities would be occupied, their resources consumed, their houses destroyed, and their country ravaged, and they themselves would be nothing more than forlorn spectators of the spectacle and lachrymose commentators upon it. They would have been the first people in the history of the world who were too civilized and pacific to compromise their happiness by defending their firesides.

course, that Belgium before the outbreak of the war had already become an Anglo-French dependency, and that consequently Germany was justified in her invasion. This defense of the German outrage has some force. As Professor Usher pointed out in these pages some weeks ago, Belgium had become "as clearly an ally of France as England was." The military plans of France and England were based upon the expectation that Germany would attack through Belgium, and that the Belgian army must delay the Germans long enough to allow sufficient time for French mobilization. But obviously this alliance with France and England was the immediate result of a threatened German invasion. Belgium had to choose between submission to Germany and military cooperation with France and England. She properly chose the latter because the alliance was far less compromising to her independence than the submission. Her understanding with the Allies was wholly defensive; but by submission to Germany she would have consented to the use of Belgian territory as an instrument for aggressive military operations against her neighbors and friends.

An inoffensive state like Belgium should not have been obliged to protect her independence by compromising her neutrality, but whose fault is that? Surely it is partly the fault of the other inoffensive independent and neutral powers, such as Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, and the United States. Belgium leaned upon France and England, because she knew that other essentially inoffensive states would do nothing to protect her and nothing to promote their joint pacifist interest. Neutrality, in order to be respected, needs to be energized, organized, and charged with positive ideas and purposes. As long as neutrality consists merely in not being belligerent, the probable belligerents will rule the world, and the neutrals will have to depend for their own security upon alliances with Powers capable of offensive military operations. But neutrality need not consist merely in not being belligerent. Neutrals have joint interests and ideals, and these interests and ideals will command a much increased respect whenever they have the armed support of a league of neutral states. If such states were pledged to go to one another's assistance as soon as the territory of any member of the league was violated, neutrality would no longer exist merely during the pleasure of a belligerent. A power like Germany would then have found an attack on France through Belgium less essential to her national safety.

Such a league of peace might not in the beginning constitute a very formidable military engine. Like Belgium, it could not fight effectively without having the support of a strong military and naval

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cause the possibly belligerent Powers would be bidding for the moral and material cooperation of the neutral league. Some one of them would always be ready to go to its assistance; and such assistance would not be as compromising to a group of states as it would be to a single state. Nations like Belgium would no longer exist on sufferance. If attacked they would not be crushed between the millstones of their mightier neighbors. They would have earned by common sacrifices a species of joint independence, wholly divorced from offensive belligerency, which would be a new thing under the sun and which might become the point of departure for a substantial and triumphant league of peace.

The Economists

AS one looked about at this year's gathering of the American Economic Association at Princeton, one failed entirely to discover the professor of fiction, that gracious, absent-minded, unworldly man, with ill-fitting clothes and iron-rimmed spectacles, whom we loved and venerated, much as our early ancestors venerated the insane. These latter-day professors looked more like highly trained business men, and if we had been told that this was a convention of steel manufacturers or of general insurance agents, we might easily have believed. The faces were for the most part clean-shaven, and there was a plentiful representation of clear-eyed, square-chinned, decisive young men, who seemed anything but absorbed in unrealities. The time has passed when the economist was a harmless devotee of white magic and the professor a lay monk.

There was a teacher in Princeton who lectured on political science to the average class of half attentive students, and later became president of the university and still later President of the United States. During his campaign hostile cartoons portrayed him as a pedagogue, the man with the ferule, the mere "professor" of politics. But somehow the intended reproach did not turn out to be a reproach. Mr. Wilson conducted his campaign capably, and as President ruled his party with tact and wisdom. The ultra-practical politicians, those ward-heelers on a national scale, did not succeed in "putting things over." Doubtless this academic President, when he faced the wire-puller, devisualized him, compared him with all the wire-pullers in history, reduced him to type, so to speak, and understood him, as an entomologist might understand a bug better than the bug himself. In any event, despite mistakes, Mr. Wilson proved that a man might have studied political science and still know

All of which was one time a paradox. Thirty or forty years ago American economists, of whom there were then few, were somnambulistically trudging the roads hewn out of the rock by Adam Smith and Ricardo. They were still for the most part closet professors, theoreticians with their theories ready-made, teachers of a "dismal science," "essentially hypothetical in character." Obstinately they clung to a system of *laissez-faire,* which condemned its adherents to a policy of doing nothing and suggesting nothing. While these economists were teaching eternal verities concerning the wage-fund, the theory of rent and the law of supply and demand, the world about them was changing, business and government, as well as science, were being specialized, expert knowledge was becoming necessary, and a demand arose for men who knew in detail all the facts concerning a given problem, and yet who could see the problem in its larger relations. History and statistics modified our economic thought, as did also a new sense of the relativity and capacity for change and adaptation of all economic institutions. Business and government called for a new type of economist, and the new type developed. Professional economists became the guides as well as the interpreters of the new economic movements.

We can trace this development through the twenty-nine years' history of the American Economic Association. The young economists who in 1885 founded that society were filled with the ambition to make economic knowledge count, to work out policies of government and business, to study not a Robinson Crusoe's island but the intricate economic conditions of the societies in which they actually lived. It is to these innovators more than to any one else that we owe the fact that today the specialized economist, whether a professor or not, is at work for the state, the industrial corporation and the trade union. We find him in government bureaus, legislative committees, judicial investigations, and we find him employed by peace societies, research institutions, philanthropic organizations innumerable, as well as by popular magazines, which have discovered that nothing is more sensational than the plain facts, rightly interpreted, of our economic life.

Especially in statistics do we discover this economic expert. The statistician, that measuring-worm of modern society, enters the employ of all our states and most of our businesses. Our insatiable curiosity concerning everything that can be weighed and counted grows even faster than does our statistical knowledge, though that grows astoundingly. "How many statistics are there?" a lady once asked us, and only yesterday we found

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fessor Dewey, "how many eggs are laid in Alaska, we measure the glass surface of florists' establishments, we have laid bare the balance sheets of the counting room; in our census we distinguish between one-and two-seated sleighs; we can tell the proportion of checks to other monetary media; we know how much gold is consumed in dentistry." The labors of the statistician will endure forever, since of the making of statistics there is no end.

Yet even while we assess at a high value the services of the new economist, there are drawbacks which may not be left out of account. The specialized economist, the capable, alert man whom we see at this convention, has not perhaps the firm grip of the early economists, and he is prone to brush aside theoretical discussions with perhaps too intolerant an indifference. His very qualities carry defects. He may know everything about social insurance, and not as much as he should about general theory, or economic history, or agricultural economics, or mining, or forestry. The detailed knowledge of his particular subject which enables him to teach it in class-room and text-book, and renders him eligible for membership upon state commissions and invaluable in the drafting of laws, is paid for necessarily by a relative ignorance of many important subjects.

Moreover, something still more valuable is endangered by too narrow a specialization. The man who spends his life in studying the financial history of Georgia in the eighteenth century is likely to lose a real sense of large contemporary problems. A professor of economics may become director of the census or sit upon an industrial commission or revise the tax laws of a great commonwealth, but the lasting influence of such a man is less than that of one who gives to the world a new interpretation of our complex economic life. More than ever before, such interpretations are necessary now. A hundred years ago the economists became the intellectual leaders of the manufacturers then rising to power. To-day a similar industrial transition is occurring, and a new class, not yet fully conscious of its power or rights, not yet clear even as to the extent and nature of its constituency, is groping after some philosophy to explain it to other classes and to itself. Where in our American universities or in the American Economic Association is the scholar who will endow this class with a philosophy and an understanding?

Perhaps to-day, when the task is more difficult, the qualifications of the economists are less adequate. There is still a tendency towards too narrow a conception of the economic motives of classes and individuals, towards too mechanical and rigid semi-egoistic. Nor does the economist himself escape from illusions and predilections born of his individual experience. His right to perform great public services is often bought by unperceived sacrifices of scientific convictions. In the universities themselves there are entangling prejudices and a certain convention of academic decorum which are more repressive than any specific prohibitions. Do we find in our American universities to-day that complete intellectual tolerance and freedom, that *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* for which the Economic Association so definitely stands? Do our professors pin their theses on the university doors, and defend them against all without and within?

This is the paramount problem which faces the economists to-day. They are doing excellent work in university and in public life, in the teaching of boys and in the conduct of affairs. But their greater task remains unfulfilled.

Puzzle-Education

HOW righteously indignant did our teachers use to be if we ever precociously objected to learning our mathematics and grammar in school on the ground that if we were going to be doctors or policemen we should never have any use when we grew up for that kind of knowledge. Were we not entirely too young to know at all what kind of knowledge we should need when we did grow up? Did not our teachers impress upon us that in some mysterious way all was grist that came to our intellectual mill? Did we wish to know merely what we could use in the daily grubbing of bread and butter? Was not the fine flower of education knowledge learned for its own sake? We could thus be assured, as we cubed our roots or diagrammed our sentences, that all this work was "training the mind," so that we could almost feel our mental muscles growing in strength and elasticity. We were too young to see it then, but some day we should be heartily grateful to our painstaking teachers. Some day, when we were successful men, we should come to appreciate the superior wisdom of this educational system against which our rational little wills so smoulderingly rebelled.

In those days, would we not have given our young chances of promotion to see ranged up before the teacher a group of great grown men, the successful ones of the earth, to be put through the paces at which we kicked? Would it not have tickled us to see a class consisting of a state senator, a former lieutenant-governor, a manufacturer, a city official,

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erysipelas, guessing at the distance in degrees from Portugal to the Ural Mountains, locating the desert of Atacama and the Pamir Plateau, expressing 150° Cent. in terms of Fahrenheit, and finding the area of the base of a cylindrical 1 gal. can 10 ins. high? If it was true that we should all find this knowledge useful some day, then it would be preeminently these men who were finding it useful now.

Let the news go forth to all the children of the land who are questioning the why and wherefore of what they are learning, that this thing has actually been done. The eleven men have been assembled in Springfield, Ill. and have had put to them these questions and others, all taken from the prescribed work of the local public schools. The class constituted one of those inquiries conducted with the deadly accuracy of a laboratory experiment by the Russell Sage Foundation. The results, it need hardly be said, were a complete demonstration of the intuition of our childish precocity. Not one of these eleven successful and intelligent gentlemen made so much as a passing mark in any subject. In the spelling-match the best record was six words out of ten, while one man, probably the editor, failed in every word. Only one of the pupils knew the capital of Montenegro, while neither he nor any of the others had the faintest reaction to Atacama or the Pamir Plateau, much less to the length of South America or the distance in degrees from Portugal to the Ural Mountains. Only one of the eleven could do the thermometer problem—he must have been in Paris once in January—and not one knew the specific gravity of alcohol when 2 liters weigh 1.58 kgms. As for the ten historical dates selected from ninety-one, the only date that as many as ten men knew was the attack on Sumter. Only one identified the date of the Mexican War, only one the surrender of Cornwallis.

It must have seemed very curious to the eleven to be presented with these questions, and then have the answers labelled "knowledge." How many of them drew the conclusion that our public schools were little more in the higher reaches than a glorified puzzle-party, where recitation is often more like a guessing of riddles, or trying to discover the answer from the teacher's tone, or the putting together of a puzzle-picture? Look at the average school text-book, with its neat and logical divisions, and see if you can't hear the dry crackle of the author's wit as he has worked out his ingenious riddles, pieced his cunning examples together, hunted the dictionary for words to spell, dissected his history, carved up a continent. The intellect feeds on syllogisms. Syllogisms are so much easier than appreciations. And really it is far easier to reason than to interpret. In the first you have merely to follow [illegible]

Yet this whirling around of the mental engine with the belting off is represented to us as a process of "training the mind." You might as well say that an athlete could best train his legs by standing on his head and waving them.

It is this scheme of puzzle-education which this Springfield inquiry—a characteristic flash, we take it, of American genius—has so tellingly shown up. And this riddle-curriculum tends to get worse instead of better as the science of text-book-making waxes and the machinery of scientific pedagogy accumulates. The avowed aim of teachers and training-colleges in recent years has been to discover pedagogical methods that would do the work regardless of the personality of the teacher. The riotous absurdities of this scheme are being revealed by such inquiries as these in Springfield. They suggest that the policy of having our next generation's mental attitudes, stock of information, personal qualities, and moral biases cultivated by unimaginative teachers whose intellectual capacity has been just sufficient to acquire a few routine methods of "conducting" a class and keeping order in a group of restless children, may have become antiquated. Our genuine education—that is, a familiarity with the world we live in—must wait until we get out of school. That may partly explain why most children are so anxious to leave.

Some people might find in this inquiry not so much an evidence of the inefficiency of our public schools as of how little intellectual baggage one needs to become successful and eminent in these United States. But this is in reality only to make a heavier indictment. It is still primarily the schools that have failed to make the intellectual baggage important to the minds of their pupils, that have left uncultivated their tastes and horizons. It is for this reason that our American intellectual background is relatively thin.

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1914—The End of an Era?

IN its immediate effects upon the lives and fortunes of millions of men and women, the great war is unmistakably the largest human fact since the French Revolution. Since that tremendous deluge overflowed the frontiers of the Old Monarchy and began its resistless march from Paris to Moscow, from the Straits of Dover to the Syrian Coast, there has been no single disturbance of the whole system of nations and continents comparable with that which is now going on before our eyes.

Yet in the face of this almost limitless destruction there is patent on many sides a disposition to regard it as an accident, a piece of collective insanity on the part of races and nations certain to be followed presently by a sad return to sanity. Those who were but a few months ago assuring us that there never could be another general war are most vociferously informing the same audience that this will be the last. In the same sense there is the general tendency to assert that when it has come to an end we shall be as we were before, that after a temporary if terrible interruption nations and continents will return to the same tasks, the same ideas, the same ideals which they followed up to the fatal first of August, 1914.

Going back to the French Revolution, is it not quite as clear from any reading of contemporary comment that a similar expectation prevailed everywhere save in Paris when the Allies at last undertook the little "police expedition" into France which was to bring the French people to their senses, restore a Bourbon to the throne, an aristocracy to control? Was it not quite as inevitable in the minds of those who directed the first invasion of France, which terminated at Valmy, that in a brief time the world was to be exactly as it had been before 1789, as it is now to many minds, that the treaty of peace which closes the present chapter will send the world back to the precise point from which it started on this temporary explosion of madness?

Accepting this as possible, is it inevitable? Is it not a possibility that what is taking place marks quite as complete a bankruptcy of ideas, systems, society, as did the French Revolution? For Carlyle, in many ways the most satisfactory interpreter of the French Revolution, it was above all else a conflagration, a burning up of shams, of inveracities, a forest fire sweeping through woods long dead and become tinder, a total dissolution of a world which had become unreal, inveracious, devitalized. [illegible] map of Europe could show so many regions devasted, so many millions homeless, destitute? Has

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serted. As a final evidence of the stability of the order existing before the war, we have been accustomed to point to at least four bulwarks, each a product of contemporary genius, each a prop and promise of the perpetuation of what was frankly conceded to be the best and the wisest social order ever devised by the mind of man. These four forces may be described as science, sentiment, high finance and socialism.

As to science, it will be remembered that twenty years ago M. Bloch quite convinced a willing world that war had become impossible because modern weapons had made the cost of battle beyond the resource of men or nations to pay. In that time the world eagerly read carefully prepared tables which showed that, given the power of modern artillery and rifle, battles would now be more terrible than any known to history. From this fact it was reasoned that men would not fight, nations would not dare to send their citizens to battle. Yet after twenty years it was fully demonstrated in the Balkan War that all the terrible destructiveness of modern weapons did not prevent men from fighting, and from fighting hand to hand. It was the bayonet and not the artillery which decided Monastir and Kirk Killisse. The Bulgarian "Na noge" was still the watchword of battle, and the knife terrible in European warfare as in African. To-day each report of battle brings the details of bayonet charges comparable with those that made Gettysburg famous and Waterloo immortal.

Thus science, which in twenty years has added much to the terrors foreseen by M. Bloch, has given us the 42-centimetre gun and the French "75," has in no degree weakened the spirit of man. As the Greeks, the Romans, the fighting races of all past time fought, so the great nations of twentieth century Europe are fighting. Science has made war more terrible, more costly, but it has not made war impossible, filled man with controlling terror. Thus it has failed.

Is it less plain that sentiment, the sentiment that was behind The Hague Conferences, the international arrangements, the endless "scrap of paper" and agreements, the indefinable thing we call humanitarian spirit, has failed quite as completely? It did not avail to prevent the invasion of Belgium, the laying in waste of East Prussia. Has there been any time since the Thirty Years' War when the

of Belgium, Polish, Galician, French, and Prussian towns lie before a world? Has war ever been more dreadful than now, when we count in Germany alone not less than 1,500,000 men killed and wounded in five months? Yet in any nation at war is there any present agitation for peace?

High finance failed in the last week of July. Everyone remembers how, in the last days before shooting began, there was of a sudden a flurry in all the world of finance, a sudden report that at last the men who were the masters of millions had served their ultimatum on statesmen, threatened, commanded, bullied. That little interruption had its climax on July thirty-first. But on August first Germany declared war on Russia, and before the following week was over, the battle lines stretched straight across the Continent. There never was anything more complete, more decisive than the defeat of world finance when it undertook to take the helm in storm.

Last of all there was socialism. Ten years ago it was the fashion to believe that socialism, with its annex of internationalism, had quite permeated and conquered Europe. French and German workmen, faced by battle, were to ground their arms and fraternize. Bebel and Jaurès were to succeed Bismarck and William II. All France was in the hands of the socialists, the flag was on the dunghill, and the army was in disgrace. Pelletan was telling Frenchmen that a navy was of use merely as a school. Jaurès was describing an armed citizenry as the outside limit of legitimate self-defense, ideas strangely familiar to American ears just now.

Yet when the war came, instead of fraternization a Frenchman shot Jaurès; a socialist became the greatest French War Minister since the elder Carnot; Jules Guesde entered the ministry in France, Vandervelde in Belgium. The workmen of Moscow, on a strike which was mounting rapidly toward rebellion, voluntarily went back to work. The socialists in the Reichstag voted the war funds, and French socialists went to the battle line frankly affirming their desire to atone with their lives for their share in disarming France.

In sum, socialism, like all the other props, broke down instantly, and to-day no socialist ventures to say with assurance whether the end of the war will leave socialism a forgotten thing or place it on the seat of power; but all socialists recognize that the temper and the spirit of the men who are now fighting a great struggle holds out little present promise of any return to old pathways and ante-bellum ideals.

It is wholly possible that when at last peace comes, it will be proven that this war was the great accident most men now hold it, an illogical and unrelated interruption of the course of human ideas fore 1914. But is it not quite as possible that a whole new order of ideas, ideals, perhaps a religious awakening, probably a new outburst of national spirit and patriotism in all races, may come? "All the king's horses and all the king's men" could not set the old order up again after the French Revolution; may it not be as impossible after this great war? May not 1914, like 1789, mark in human history the end of an era? FRANK H. SIMONDS.

The British Army and Compulsion

PARLIAMENT has just recently sanctioned the addition of a million men to the regular Army. We are not, however, to conclude that the War Office will immediately begin the embodiment of the whole million and will insist upon its completion. That would be impossible. The training now going forward of nearly a million and a quarter recruits is as large a task as we can at present compass, and it will be many months before they can be equipped for the field. But the new army vote means that the government is empowered to raise the land forces of Great Britain to something between two and a half and three million men. How far we shall be required to go in that direction depends, of course, upon the length and severity of the war.

"This is not the time for urging the need of universal training," said Lord Roberts, in the article which proved to be his farewell utterance (*Hibbert Journal*, October, 1914). It is quite evident that the view held by the most eminent British advocate of compulsory military service is not shared by all of those who count themselves his followers. Ever since the first weeks of the war the conscriptionists have been working and talking hard to drive the Government into an abandonment of the voluntary system. Towards the close of October, during the first stage of the terrific struggle for the Channel ports, their organs became insistent. It was known that they were being strongly reinforced from the War Office, and the opinion seemed to be general that conscription was winning. This reading of the situation was a mistake. The advocates of universal compulsory service have suffered a heavy reverse. Victory may be theirs in the end, but for the time being they are beaten.

The main points of the situation may be briefly stated. On the outbreak of war the Government obtained parliamentary sanction for an addition to the regular army of a million men. There was a call for 500,000 recruits, and immediately afterwards an appeal for the remaining half [illegible]

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some of them discreditable to the authorities, subject to great fluctuations. The first rush to the colors was too much for the recruiting department; the organization broke down, and the War Office committed all the blunders that seemed possible. Instead of devising a simple method of enrolment, independent, to begin with, of medical tests and preparations for training, they adopted an elaborate system of discouragement. Men were rejected for trivial reasons, or turned away at the doors for none. The age limit was absurdly restricted. The height standard was lowered, and then almost at once put back. The recruiting depots were badly run and meagerly staffed, so that volunteers were kept waiting in queues for hours and days. Worse still, thousands of those accepted were made to undergo the severest ordeals, through lack of bare necessaries, in the improvised camps. It was said ironically that the first batches of casualties handled in the Red Cross hospitals were cases of pneumonia caused among the recruits by the absence of bedding or by exhaustion due to a diet of bread and margarine. Above all, recruiting suffered by reason of delay and muddle in the payment of allowances to the soldiers' wives and families, and the failure of the Government to frame an adequate scale of pensions for disabled soldiers and for widows and dependents.

These things are slowly being put right. Order is emerging in the recruiting department, and the hardships of the camps, though still serious, have been diminished. The Government has not yet addressed itself to the problem of the soldiers' pay, but it has announced an improved scale of pensions to disabled soldiers and the families of those killed in action. The Labor Party has been conducting an agitation for a pound a week pay and pension, with five shillings for each child. The Government has not gone as far as this—we knew there was no hope of it. The old scale was five shillings a week for the widow; the new one is seven shillings sixpence, less than two dollars, with five shillings for the first child, and two shillings sixpence each for others. This marks a somewhat notable, if still most inadequate, advance.

Apart, however, from matters of money and management, the military authorities have displayed a genius for discouragement. The towns and villages have been placarded with appeals to the manhood of the nation—appeals which have been, quite fairly, ridiculed by Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, and H. G. Wells. In various forms the placards hold out the prospect of certain discharge at the end of the war, and in every other respect the publicity department of the War Office has exhibited an ignorance of psychology which the myriad posters under which the walls of the whole country are buried have made the difference of a thousand recruits, whereas any story of heroism in the field that may have the luck to evade the censor produces an instant enthusiasm, good for tens of thousands of new men.

The upshot could have been foretold. The militarist newspapers announced a slump in recruiting. Correspondents in America contrasted the English figures with those which illustrated the fervor of volunteering in the Civil War. And, seizing what looked like an unequalled opportunity, the conscriptionists proclaimed that in the hour of the nation's supreme peril voluntary enlistment had collapsed.

Look, however, at the actual results achieved by the English system. It has put into the continental field an army of unsurpassed quality, and has fed this army with continuous reinforcements. It has brought contingents from every part of the Empire for service in the western battlefield or in Egypt and India. It has created an entirely new army, additional to the pre-war forces of 600,000 or 700,000, of not less than a million men—800,000 regulars for the foreign field and 200,000 territorials for home defence. There is, morever, no doubt whatever as to the nation's ability to recruit a further million, should they be needed, without resort to compulsion. That no proposals for compulsion are in the programme of the Government at present is plain from the silence, disappointing to the conscriptionists, of the Prime Minister and Lord Kitchener at the Lord Mayor's banquet—the proper place for startling announcements. Nevertheless, special measures of recruitment will be needed, even if the press censorship should be cured of its folly and the actualities of the war be allowed to penetrate the popular mind. In the first place, the Government has sanctioned a poll of households—the compilation, by a parliamentary recruiting committee, of a register of able-bodied citizens ready to volunteer. A further and much more serious suggestion comes from Mr. Lloyd George, namely, that from each city, county, or district there should be required, according to population, a full tale of recruits. This, of course, is an historic expedient of our race, though it is ages since England has known it to be applied.

But why, the American reader may ask, should there be difficulty at all? Do Englishmen need any impulsion whatever beyond the knowledge that their country is in the extremity of peril? No, they do not. The Government could in two or three days get a further half-million men, at least, if the facts were put squarely before the people and the situation handled as its enormous gravity de-

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ing taken away from the infantile officers who now control it and given to men of sense and knowledge, and the newspapers induced to give up hiding the terrors of the mightiest conflict in history behind clouds of invention designed to preserve the illusion of German impotence and British invincibility under any and every set of circumstances.

London, November. S. K. RATCLIFFE.

Goethe and German Egotism

THERE are earnest people who have trustfully fed all their lives on the thoughts of Goethe, Kant and Hegel, but who find themselves somewhat disconcerted by the present attitude of Germany; and they wish to separate if possible those poetic and philosophic influences, which seem so suave and edifying, from the hard sayings of the Bismarckian era. The change, on the surface, is striking enough. A hundred years ago the *Zeitgeist* was humanitarian, cosmopolitan, romantic; now it is machine-loving, nationalistic, and aggressive. Such pervasive passions in the social medium color even the most original minds. Furthermore, the allegiance of reflective opinion to Christian morals—the native air of the modern world—has been profoundly shaken in the interval. For Goethe and Hegel, and even for Kant, the ultimate foundation of morals may no longer have been Christian; it may have become pantheistic or purely intuitive; yet this revolution was rather esoteric, and for them, as for the conscience of their day, the specific precepts of Christianity were still unquestionable. If you went in for precepts at all, which might be a trifle naïve of you, no precepts but the Christian could be taken seriously.

Goethe, no doubt, showed a certain benignity towards paganism and towards the senses; but it was the benignity of a romantic poet, a traveler, a scholar, a sage counsellor to a Christian government; it was not the complete revolt of a natural pagan. His Iphigenie and his Helena and his whole view of antiquity were full of the pathos of distance. He simply continued the Renaissance after that clerical eclipse of it which had dressed the seventeenth century in black; and he was more interested in enriching the life of Christendom with all sorts of speculations and pageantries than in organizing it politically and morally on a new basis. If his pantheist imagination was kindled at times by Spinoza, if he relished the thought that pity was bad and useless or that one who truly loved God could not wish that God should love him in return, he relished these ideas all the more, perhaps, because he took them to be paradoxical and more romantic than in fact they were; for in the system of Spinoza there is nothing strained or wilful about them. At the same time Goethe, who was nothing Christian piety and mysticism; he never formulated, like Nietzsche, an anti-Christian standard of duty. Only the sourest Puritan or the inquisitor with the keenest scent for heresy would not gladly forget that so broad a genius was not quite Christian.

More explicitly than by his moral serenity Goethe was separated from the philosophy of Absolute Will, which German action now embodies, by his frank dislike of Fichte, its loudest representative, as well as by his admiration for Napoleon; and he was too Hellenistic and cosmopolitan to dream that the divine life could be wholly summed up in the German nation. Yet faith in Absolute Will has other modes of expression. Schelling, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche have shown how this faith, even in speculation, may become indistinguishable from a naturalism somewhat vitalistic or poetical in tone—the very philosophy Goethe inclined to, and Goethe himself in his personal life and in such writings as "Faust" and "Wilhelm Meister" set forth absolute romantic egotism to perfection. Egotism is but Absolute Will in operation; an egotism which of course must be altogether distinguished from a mean private selfishness without genius. The absolute romantic philosopher sets no particular limits to the range of his interests and sympathies; his programme, indeed, is to absorb the whole world. He is no wounded and disappointed egotist, like Byron, that takes to sulking and naughtiness because most of the world tastes bitter in his mouth. He finds good and evil equally digestible. The personal romantic egotism of Byron or of Musset after all was humble; it felt how weak it was in the universe. But absolute egotism in Goethe, as in Emerson, summoned all nature to minister to the Self; all nature, if not actually compelled to this service by a human creative fiat, could at least be won over to it by the engaging heroism of her favorite child. In his warm pantheistic way Goethe felt the swarming universal life about him; he could have no thought of dragooning it all, as sectarians and nationalists would, into vindicating some particular creed or nation. Yet this impartial fertility in the universe left each life free and in uncensored competition with every other life. Each creature might feed blamelessly on all the others and become if it could the focus and epitome of the world. The develop-

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developed widely and securely enough, with insight, calmness, and godlike irresponsibility.

Goethe exhibited this principle in practice more plainly, perhaps, than in theory. His family, his friends, his feelings were so many stepping-stones in his moral career; he expanded as he left them behind. His love-affairs were means to the fuller realization of himself. Not that his love-affairs were sensual or his infidelities callous; far from it. They often stirred him deeply and unsealed the springs of poetry in his heart; that was precisely their function. Every tender passion opened before him a primrose path into which his inexorable genius led him to wander. If in passing he must tread down some flower, that was a great sorrow to him; but perhaps that very sorrow and his inevitable remorse were the most needful and precious elements in the experience. Every pathetic sweetheart in turn was a sort of Belgium to him; he violated her neutrality with a sigh; his heart bled for her innocent sufferings, and he never said afterwards in self-defense, like the German Chancellor, that she was no better than she should be. But he must press on. His beckoning destiny, the claims of his spiritual growth, compelled him to sacrifice her and to sacrifice his own lacerated feelings on the altar of duty to his infinite self. Indeed, so truly supreme was this vocation that universal nature too, he thought, was bound to do herself some violence in his behalf and to grant him an immortal life, that so noble a process of self-expansion might go on forever.

Goethe's perfect insight into the ways of romantic egotism appears also in "Faust," and not least in the latter parts of it, which are curiously prophetic. If the hero of that poem has a somewhat incoherent character, soft, wayward, emotional yet at the same time stubborn and indomitable, that circumstance only renders him the fitter vehicle for Absolute Will, a metaphysical entity whose business is to be vigorous and endlessly energetic while remaining perfectly plastic. Faust was at first a scholar, fervid and grubbing, but so confused and impatient that he gave up science for magic. Notwithstanding the shams of professional people which offended him, was not a private and candid science possible, which might have brought him intellectual satisfaction and plenty of exhilarating conflicts with hallowed humbug? Of course, and the fact would not have escaped him if he had been a simple lover of truth. But Absolute Will cannot be restricted to any single interest, much less to the pursuit of a frigid truth in which it cannot believe; for the Will would not be absolute if it recognized any truth which it had to discover; it can recognize and love only the truth that it makes. Its method of procedure, we are told, consists in first throwing out thing must have a cause or that life and progress must be everlasting; and the truth is then whatever conforms to these assumptions. But since evidently these assumptions might be utterly false, it is clear that what interests Absolute Will is not truth at all, but only orthodoxy. A delightful illustration of this is given by Faust when, emulating Luther for a moment, he undertakes to translate the first verse of Saint John—that being the Gospel that impresses him most favorably. The point is not prosaically to discover what the Evangelist meant, but rather what he must and shall have meant. *The Word* will never do; *the Sense* would be somewhat better; but *In the beginning was Force* would have even more to recommend it. Suddenly, however, what Absolute Will demands flashes upon him, and he writes down: *In the beginning was the Deed*:

> Auf einmal seh' ich Rat
> Und schreibe getrost: Im Anfang war die That!

Now, if it comes to making truth, magic can do it far more quickly and brilliantly than science. Magic is an experiment in omnipotence; it thinks to create facts by invoking them, as Absolute Will thinks to create truths by assuming them; so that after all we need not be surprised that Faust finds magic the best key to the universe.

Yet even in this exciting form, the life of thought cannot hold him long. He aches to escape from it; not that his knowledge of the world, as well as his magic, will not accompany him through life; he will not lose his acquired art nor his habit of reflection, and in this sense his career is really a progress, in that his experience accumulates; but the living interest is always something new. He turns to miscellaneous adventures, not excluding love; from that he passes to imperial politics, a sad mess, thence to sentimental classicism, rather an unreality, and finally to war, to public works, to trade, to piracy, to colonisation, and to clearing his acquired estates of tiresome old natives, who insist on ringing church bells and are impervious to the new *Kultur*. These public enterprises he finds more satisfying, perhaps only because he dies in the midst of them.

Are these hints of romantic egotism in Goethe mere echoes of his youth and of the ambient philosophy, echoes which he would have rejected if confronted with them in an abstract and doctrinal form, as he rejected the system of Fichte? Would he not have judged Schopenhauer more kindly? Above all, what would he have thought of Nietzsche, his own wild disciple? No doubt he would have wished to buttress and qualify in a thousand ways that faith in Absolute Will which they emphasized so exclusively, Schopenhauer in metaphysics and Nietzsche in morals. But the same faith was a deep element in his own genius, as in that of his country, and he would hardly have disowned it.

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Academic Freedom—A Confession

TWENTY years ago I began life as a college professor, equipped with a Phi Beta Kappa key, a doctor's degree, and a very solid, respectable habit of academic conservatism.

After a few years' apprenticeship as instructor in one of our greater universities, a fairly comfortable chair was assigned me in a well known college. So far as the limits of this charge were concerned, no pent-up Utica confined my youthful powers. As economist, authority was mine to solve the problem of trusts, tariff, labor and socialism; as political scientist, to decide between democracy and representative government; and finally, as sociologist, to appraise the whole range of social institutions from the matriarchate to monogamy.

That these arduous and extensive duties were performed with dignity and discretion I call all my earlier students—now in sober middle age themselves—to witness. Frankly, mine was no iconoclastic spirit. Consciously and unconsciously my teaching matter and method had been formed under some of the most eminent and careful—especially careful—academic authorities of Germany and the United States. After all, scholasticism did not exist in vain nor is it yet quite dead. There are at least two sides to every question; most of those with which I dealt had more facets than the Orloff diamond. If bold propositions had to be made on definite issues like the tariff—and to my credit be it set down that made they were, both in speech and writing—still this could be done in temperate language, rendered extra dry, perhaps, by serried masses of facts and imposing tables of statistics. One of the achievements of that time which I recall with mingled emotions was the delivery of a course of lectures on the issues of a national campaign, at the conclusion of which the college paper gravely complimented me on their fullness and fairness, adding that I had injected so little partisan feeling into the discussions that my students were still unable to tell how I was going to vote.

In those days orthodoxy reigned; the Constitution was revered; McKinley and Mark Hanna were their prophets, and the people still worshipped. Public interest in academic utterances was weak. Certainly it did not occur to me that the subjects which I taught were particularly dangerous, at least not in the hands of seasoned and judicious men. To be sure there were the cases of E. Benjamin Andrews, of Bemis, of Ross and Howard, and of others. But I noted with satisfaction that the institutions which lost these men were so severely hurt by it that they showed little inclination to [illegible] low colleagues.

Promotion came in due course, to a prominent institution largely supported by public funds. With it my "settee" was cut down to a chair of reasonable proportions, covering one only of the three sciences which I had formerly professed. In my new location students have been numerous and appreciative. My relations with the faculty and trustees are most cordial. Reference to the studies of the Carnegie Foundation convinces me that so far as rank, salary and equipment go I have been more fortunate throughout my career than the majority of my colleagues. It must be understood, therefore, that no personal grief or grudge colors this confession. For confessed it must be that neither of those powerful talismen, my Phi Beta Kappa key and my doctor's degree, nor yet the mellowing effect of time and study, has kept me from developing what, twenty years ago, I should have deemed a horrifying radicalism.

To trace in all its details an evolution—a degeneration, if you will—of this sort is no easy matter. But some at least of the impulses that have been at work upon me can be indicated briefly. For example, it seems but yesterday that I was explaining to my classes the working of those two queer little Swiss toys, the initiative and referendum, and incidentally expounding the enormous differences between the tiny European and the great American democracy which made the adoption of such political devices in this country both improbable and undesirable. In my teaching to-day Swiss experience along these lines has sunk into the pale limbo of historical origins. The I and R have conquered an imperial domain in the West; they are fairly established in the constitution of the state next door, and are knocking for admission at the portals of my own commonwealth. Timid college presidents like Nicholas Murray Butler and G. W. Hinman are going into convulsions over this alleged approach of direct socialistic democracy. Perhaps it is my duty also to despair of the republic threatened by these dire dangers, but for the life of me I can't feel that way about it.

Socialism was then a menacing, blood-red specter that had grown to enormous dimensions under the weight of taxes and militarism in distant Germany. To-day it is a semi-respectable and wholly dull political party in our own United States. I am in constant contact with its members at public gatherings and committee meetings. From my present viewpoint they seem to have the true old-time academic type of mind, its respect for authority, its lack of imagination, its wholly mechanical processes of thought. And I note with surprise that they are not nearly so inclined to give a hearing to the I. W. W. as some of my own more yel-

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was perfectly balanced, eminently respectable, and thoroughly mummified. As it was, so I taught it. Then came that little, determined, gray-eyed Welshman, and now I find myself teaching workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, labor exchanges, minimum wage, town planning, income and super-tax, graduated death duties, and unearned increment tax. It has made the course throb with living interest, to be sure, but really, can one touch so much radical pitch and not be defiled? Even worse and more unsettling influences emanate from the one-time right-little, tight-little isle. There are Wells and Shaw and Galsworthy and that most subversive conservative, Chesterton.

All these influences might have remained purely academic and exotic were it not for the national campaign of 1912. In that year, for the first time in my experience, American politics began to speak a living language, to bristle with real issues, to put human interests in the center of political striving. All over the country professors and students woke up. Many of us seized the opportunity to put before the public convictions that had been forming in our minds for years. To us this seemed a civic duty; to others, no doubt, it was rank partisanship, pernicious political activity, notoriety seeking, or plain office-hunting. I am aware that all this is essentially commonplace, the experience of thousands of Americans outside as well as inside college walls. Professors in the field of politics, economics and social science, however, are face to face with certain vital questions as a result of their new point of view and new activities. Particularly is this the case in those pioneer institutions of the Middle West which to the ideals of teaching and research have added the ideal of public service. First in this field, the University of Wisconsin is already under fire from the ranks both of practical politicians and of the interests which have been skulking under the glare of the academic searchlight of that great institution. To those familiar with Western universities it is apparent that this is only the beginning of a general conflict which must be fought out in the course of the next few years.

American colleges both public and private are governed by boards. These boards are made up largely of men capable of commanding funds or influence, both of which, it must be admitted, they have given generously to the colleges. With few exceptions men of this type are conservative to the backbone. To most of them even the policies of the Wilson administration are dangerously radical and subsersive of prosperity. Indeed, the word seems to have been passed about discreetly that of course no new endowments can be hoped for so [illegible] will neglect no means to get back to what they consider safe and sane conditions. It will be a miracle if the radicalism of our colleges, mild as most of it is, escapes their notice entirely.

It does not seem likely to me that there will be much heresy-hunting in the open. Small and backward institutions may attempt it; there are the recent cases of Professor Fisher at Connecticut Wesleyan, and of Professor Morse at Marietta College in Ohio. Large and established institutions are too well advised to go far in this direction. The recent conflict at the University of Pennsylvania is highly significant. What looked like a determined raid upon certain teachers in Wharton School of that institution collapsed almost instantly under a return fire of publicity.

Short of discharge, however, pressure of many sorts can be brought to bear. Appropriations for equipment or assistance may be cut down, thus throwing crushing burdens of routine work upon outspoken instructors; they may be deprived of various academic opportunities and honors; the "social chill" policy may be employed against them; promotions due in the ordinary course of events may be delayed or refused. Through many insidious channels the impression may be conveyed that they are "unsafe," "unsound," "unscientific." The great advantage of so stigmatizing a man is that it relieves one from the necessity of combating with fact and argument his teachings—a task which might be considerably more difficult.

But what of the glorious tradition of academic freedom? Alas, it is a tradition only. Many men in the quieter reaches of college life believe that the last occasion warranting appeal to it was in the case of Galileo. That they should want peace and endowments for research, above all things; that some of them should deplore all economic or political controversy likely to imperil these ends, is natural. But in the field of the social sciences new tendencies and new demands make imperative not only an appeal to the ideal of academic freedom, but a thoroughgoing definition of that appeal which will stand firm under criticism and direct assault.

Of course I am aware that, like all confessions, this is an *ex parte* statement. It will be repudiated, sincerely enough, by the elect company of the "safe and sane," who already "have all the freedom they want." It will be denied, from motives of policy and an ingrained habit of academic caution, by others who believe that private conferences and gentlemen's agreements are more effective than open discussion. But there the issue is, nevertheless. And upon its settlement, I am convinced, depends very largely the further democratic development or the aristocratic atrophy of [illegible] American colleges and universities.

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Municipal Research—A Criticism

IN theory a bureau of municipal research is an agency of citizen inquiry. In the language of which it is enamored, it is an agency providing through three hundred and sixty-five days a year non-partisan, non-political, continuous emphasis upon the methods and results of public business, as distinct from its personalities and politics. Like Wendell Phillips, agitator, it "must stand outside of organization, with no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but truth—to tear a question open and riddle it with light."

It was devised on account of an indifferent citizenship, indifferent because uninformed. It would remedy this condition at the source. It would get the facts. It would have an expert staff of men trained in research who could distinguish a reality from a pretension, who would know if an explanation explained. It saw the absurdity or the mere evanescence of emotional outbursts, of spasmodic indignation, of election-day citizen excitement. It would substitute judgment based on fact for emotional outbursts, knowledge for indignation, and continuous year-round interest for election-day excitement about the destiny of the republic.

Dr. Cleveland described the movement as an agency of citizen research and publicity. Publicity was truly regarded as its greatest ally in securing an efficient public service. It had enormous faith in the public's capacity to understand, in its willingness when informed to cooperate with officials, and in its reasonableness in demanding efficient government. It saw that success could be secured only by having its plan, method and program enter into the public consciousness and become, through reiteration and results made manifest, a dominant part of effective public opinion. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

It is, then, in theory a citizen's agency. Its purpose is to promote efficiency in public business. Its method is the method of research in discovering problems and solutions, and the method of publicity in "putting them over." It requires an informed public for its aims. It has faith in its own determination and in the public's intelligence. It has an insatiable curiosity. Its passion is improvement.

The influence of the municipal research movement has probably been decisive in the budgetry and accounting reconstruction now well under way in American cities. It has helped through its publicity in "giving heart" to citizen cooperation with government. Its service, if unabated, will help ultimately in disprofessionals and that amateur citizen effort is futile. It has made a fine beginning in its health work. Among its most noteworthy works in this field are the reports of the Child Hygiene Department in New York City and its Dayton report. It has touched public education most significantly in the field of state administration. Its Ohio and Wisconsin reports obviously accelerated results that would probably have lingered for a decade. It has developed a healthful literature of municipal government both in its reports and in the books written by its leaders. It has led the way in the movement for training men for public service through things that need to be done.

But the statement that a bureau of municipal research is a citizen's agency should be challenged at once. For public-spirited gentlemen to maintain an expert staff to cooperate with public officials looking to the improvement of the public service hardly merits the definition of a citizen's agency. However, there is one way in which such an organization may become, in a sense, a citizen's agency, or better, an agency of efficient citizenship. Its work is based on the citizen's right to know about his government, and on the citizen's right of access to public records. To make its work effective its final appeal must be to the whole citizenship. It must develop a technique of public information. Publicity methods are of its essence, and yet, taking the movement the country over, continuous or adequate information to the public is lacking, nor is the public taken sufficiently into its confidence as to "next steps." Without a wide basis of public understanding as to proposed changes, and specific information as to present conditions and recommendations, no changes either in governmental policy or governmental administration are likely to be secure. It may be admitted that bureaus of municipal research made mistakes in their publicity, but nevertheless continuous publicity must be an integral part of the policy of municipal research organizations.

There has been throughout the country a well marked tendency to make the municipal research work largely a matter of agreement between the bureau and the public official, the public getting the most meager details of what is happening. That much work altogether useful in its results has been done for departments in this way no one can deny. That much of the municipal research work now being done is of this character is also undeniable. Yet this private agreement about pub-

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research ship may founder. We are dealing here with what municipal research likes to call the "citizen's business," and we should not interfere in it without making known what part we are playing in the procedure. The potentiality for good of the private method is equalled only by its potentiality for evil. Whether viewed from the standpoint of our democratic theory of government, or from the standpoint of the possibility of making governmental activity a matter of social education, or from the standpoint of advancing the municipal research movement itself, such a procedure is intolerable.

In the municipal research movement there have, from the beginning, been a number of good average citizens who lack what may be called a social compass. They have been good second men. They have loaded themselves with the details of governmental machinery. Their object has been the perfection of these details without reference to ultimate social purposes to be accomplished by the machinery. These men, prominent from the very start, are becoming heirs apparent to the thrones. With persons dominated by a social point of view, such as the original triumvirate directing the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, the subordination of accounting, engineering and other means to social ends is certain. The danger point is reached when the men holding mechanical views of government are made heads of bureaus of municipal research.

There have followed in the wake of municipal research a few "experts" in research methods who were never officially connected with the movement. These, to a great extent, have been fakirs. Successful armies will always have such camp-followers in the rear. There is a tendency, too, to commercialize municipal research. An organization of men now in the movement to supply "municipal research" at expert's rates *per diem* has been under discussion for some time. The commercial idea and the municipal research idea are incompatible. Municipal research at *per diem* rates would lose its social character, would lose its opportunity for constructive follow-up, would cease to be a significant factor in social education. A spasm of municipal research is almost as useless as election-day excitement about government among the citizenship. Municipal research must be continuous and permanent. A commercial organization is likely to seek jobs for its staff, giving occasional jobs to the parent organization, since trained men are available nowhere else. The result of this commercialization of the idea would probably produce unfavorable public reaction, as when Mr. Bruere left the directorship of the New York

possess the faintest shadow of a desire for office, or of merely personal interest of any kind whatever. It must be free of all entangling alliances.

Viewed from another standpoint this commercialization of the idea is also a nationalization of it. This phase is a matter for future development. The movement has progressed with unprecedented swiftness. Bureaus of municipal research have been demanded faster than the men to direct them could be trained. The danger in such a situation has been very evident in the past. The commercial proposition is an attempt to supply municipal research where it would not now be possible to establish bureaus of municipal research permanently. The inactivity or futile activity of some of the bureaus is evidence of mistakes in placing men. The attempt to serve prepared pancakes to other cities is evidence of the growth of the movement in advance of the trained man. A city of about 400,000 was asked to digest, practically without modification, the New York budget system and the Chicago civil service classification. In a moment of excessive enthusiasm this meal is characterized, in the annual report of the New York Training School, as "thrilling proof that cities want constructive leadership towards better acts and more efficient methods." The fact is a fact, but the proof is inconclusive.

Municipal researchers have been courageous in facing the problem of educational publicity. They have frankly addressed the public in what was recently called in the NEW REPUBLIC "the language of humanity." The technical vocabulary of the expert is eschewed as far as is consistent with brief, truthful description. Sentences of simpler construction are preferred to the more involved forms. The scaffolding of reports is brushed aside for direct presentation. These reports, having for their purpose the informing of the citizenship generally, are worded so that the man in the street can read and understand them.

The researchers have studiously avoided philosophizing and "hot air," and have devoted their reports to listing one fact after another, organized under general heads. This has given the reports a fragmentary character which was perhaps necessary in the attempt to hit high spots only. Some of these reports have unquestionably been superficial—partly, at least, on account of the terms of engagement. But the early habit of giving three-day surveys has been abandoned. Almost consistently, those reports have been instrumental in arousing public interest and have secured valuable social results.

The municipal research movement needs to be more critical of itself. It needs to re-examine its

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"fact basis," the movement has a philosophy, and it is an important and helpful contribution to organized political and social thought. It needs more emphasis on social ends than on the details of the political machinery. It needs everywhere to take the public more completely into its confidence in all its works. It needs a broader basis in citizen financial support. Its greatest need is critical introspection. EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK.

Scientific Business

COMMONPLACE business is a novel subject for extensive university research. Nevertheless such research has already been undertaken and is producing noteworthy results. In recognition of the increasingly scientific character of business and of the great opportunities for improvement, there has developed a general movement for business education in our colleges and universities. It is the task of business education to train men to cope with the problems of management and policy which are continually arising in every business establishment, large or small, and which can be satisfactorily solved only by scientific methods. As a sound basis for this training a full knowledge of business methods and practices is essential. Hence there is need of painstaking research.

Several educational institutions have now undertaken some form of business research. The methods and experiences of the Harvard Bureau of Business Research may be cited for illustration. This Bureau was established in 1911 by the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University to gather facts about business for purposes of instruction. Market distribution was naturally the field to which the efforts of the Bureau were first directed. For instruction in banking, insurance, railroading, accounting, and manufacturing, a more or less extensive literature was available, and published reports could be utilized. But for the big subject of market distribution, which constitutes so large a part of business, and must consequently be given a prominent place in any comprehensive plan of business education, there was and still is a dearth of accessible information.

Within the field of market distribution there are numerous subjects worthy of careful study. Take retail business for example. It is so ordinary that inexperienced men do not hesitate to become storekeepers. Thousands of retailers fail each year, but their places are quickly filled. To sell a pound of nails or a package of coffee appears so simple general public, on its side, shows its ignorance of these problems by talking lightly of middleman elimination. Although twenty to thirty-five per cent of the price paid by the consumer does go to the retailer, the services of the latter are far from being dispensable. It is much easier to say that his profit is too high than to show how his expenses can be reduced.

Manufacturers and wholesalers are deeply concerned with questions of retail trade policy. The retailer distributes their products to consumers. His good-will is a valuable asset to the manufacturer who can win it. His ill-will, on the other hand, may actually nullify a carefully nurtured consumer-demand. To secure his effective cooperation the problems of the retailer must be studied and appreciated. These problems have been further complicated by the development of department stores, chain stores, mail-order houses, and cooperative associations. Under these circumstances there is obviously widespread interest in a thorough study of retail trade, and the results are of vital importance to the success of business education.

The Harvard Bureau of Business Research concentrated its work at first upon the marketing of a single commodity. It undertook to learn the costs of marketing that commodity by different methods in all parts of the country under varying conditions. This plan seemed to promise the most practical and thorough results. The commodity selected was shoes, since, in general, the shoe trade is simpler than the dry goods, drug, hardware, or grocery trades. The shoe trade, furthermore, illustrates nearly all of the main channels of distribution. Shoe manufacturers sell their products through wholesalers, also direct to retailers, and even direct to consumers. In the retail trade independent shoe stores compete with chain stores, department stores, and mail-order houses, as well as with the manufacturers' own stores. It was at the retail end that the Bureau began. Recently the research has been extended to the marketing of shoes by manufacturers and wholesalers.

A similar study of the retail grocery trade was commenced by the Bureau in the summer of 1914. The grocery trade is a particularly promising field for research. Our grocery bill lumps big in our annual budget. In the grocery business the competition of different forms of retail organization is intense. And there appear to be many lax methods which can be corrected to the advantage of the storekeeper and his customers, not to mention his creditors.

In order to learn the exact costs of store oper-

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were keeping no books at all. They had a memorandum of amounts due them from customers; an invoice file on a peg showed how much they owed manufacturers and wholesalers, and at the end of the year their bank balance indicated how much they had made. Not infrequently they were unable to state their total annual sales, much less their expenses. Is it strange that the road to bankruptcy is so short? Even among those retailers who did keep a regular set of books there was great diversity of practice. There were numerous retailers who did not charge their business with any salaries for themselves. When they owned their stores many of them did not charge rent. Occasionally interest on capital was overlooked. Nor was there any approach to uniformity in the definition of such items as selling-expense. With the aid of accountants and successful shoe dealers, the Bureau prepared a uniform accounting system which included every item of cost, profit, and expense, and gave an exact definition to each account.

The Harvard System of Accounts for Shoe Retailers was given to the trade in 1912. It has already been adopted by several hundred shoe stores and has become the standard of the trade. The Harvard System of Accounts for Retail Grocers, which corresponds closely to the shoe system, is now being adopted by grocers, large and small, in the East, in the Middle West, in the Pacific Coast states and even in Canada. In return for the valuable information which they furnish, the Bureau is able to provide the retailers with a comprehensive accounting system adapted to their needs. In this way the research has been made mutually advantageous.

The results of this research, however, are of greater value to the retailers than the accounting system itself. The retailer hitherto has had no standards for comparison. The shoe retailer, for example, has had no means of knowing that he ought not to spend more than eight per cent of his net sales for sales-force, or that more efficient stores spend only seven per cent for that item. Similarly, he could not know whether or not his rent expense was relatively too high. By working out actual trade standards from the detailed figures collected upon a uniform basis from a large number of stores, this research enables a retailer to know where he ought to stand. Already some of the retailers who have cooperated with the Bureau have utilized this information to effect savings of dollars and cents. The information from individual stores is, of course, kept strictly confidential; only the summaries for large groups of stores are published. The university, as a permanent, trusted, and non-competing third

The accounting systems for the shoe trade and for the grocery trade are very similar. The same system has been found applicable to the retail drug, hardware, clothing, and jewelry businesses. Few changes have been necessary to adapt the shoe system to the use of the wholesale shoe trade, and the grocery system is being applied to the wholesale grocery trade. Hence eventually a wide series of comparisons, not only between stores within the same group, but also between groups, can be made.

The establishment of accurate standards and the comparison of costs is one of the chief objects of this research. Equally important is the study of problems of buying, selling, and stock-handling. A schedule of questions covering all of these subjects has been carefully drawn up for each of the trades investigated. By summarizing the answers from many stores the best trade practice may be ascertained.

Under "Stock-handling," one question on the schedule for shoe retailers, for instance, asks for the details of the stock-keeping system, if any, in use in the store. In addition to the answers to this question many stock-keeping forms have been assembled by the Bureau, and these have been studied and compared with stock-keeping forms for other businesses. The result is that a new system has been worked out and will soon be published for general use in the retail shoe trade.

An improvement in stock-keeping methods will be of advantage not only to the shoe retailers themselves but to the whole community. At present stock turns over slowly in the average shoe store. If shoe retailers can be shown how to turn their stock more rapidly, they will have less antiquated stock upon their shelves and consequently suffer less loss through depreciation, the likelihood of failure will be less, and a large amount of capital now tied up in dead or dying stock will be released to earn interest elsewhere. There are doubtless several million dollars thus tied up unnecessarily and unprofitably in American shoe stores. A model stock-keeping system is one tangible result of such research which will be beneficial to the public as well as to the retailers.

Business research of this sort provides the individual merchant with standards for judging his own results and aids him to make improvements. Through it the manufacturer becomes better acquainted with the conditions under which the retailer operates. The consumer likewise is informed of just what each of the retailer's services costs, and should be able to appreciate the burden imposed by the demands for additional serv-

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A COMMUNICATION

Education With a Breadth

SIR: In THE NEW REPUBLIC of the twenty-first of November there appeared an article, "Education With a Bias," which has set a number of us old fogies to rubbing our eyes. Though not a member of the American Street Railway Association, I have been present at many of its meetings, have kept up with its publications and watched the trend of its activities, and as a sometime operating and now consulting engineer in the railway field and an educator in engineering, I have come into personal contact with the problems of our electric railways. But now I am forced to ask myself, like that surprised old lady of the nursery rhyme, can it truly be I? For if all the article states is true, it looks as if I and my co-workers will at once have to go to school again. It seems that it is necessary that we have our eyes carefully opened so that we may escape being poisoned by this oncoming noxious stream of instruction which, posing as a rill of purest information, is in reality a deadly source seeking to pour out upon our simple, all-believing college minds its torrents of fallacious dogma.

Some one has well said that the chief requisite for success in engineering is not to know what to do, but to know what not to do. Infallible memory, inventive and constructive ability, are necessary, but taken alone they will not carry the young engineer far along his road. Analytical and critical training must be his. Few come to us with these last qualities, and the duty of nurturing and stimulating them is one which our colleges are trying hard to perform. Can it be that our college departments are such dry, inflammable fields that not one of these spell-binders, these torch-bearers of this new code of the Electric Railway Association, may come among us for fear that his words, burning with the false logic of the special interests, may set us fanatically aflame? Or are our college students and their instructors such blind moles that they must ever be kept burrowing in the dark, musty earth of theory and never be permitted to emerge into the daylight of actuality? If all this is true, then are we indeed the one exception to Lincoln's pronunciamento, and as such we are in a parlous state.

Must we turn our students away from sources of wide and intensive knowledge, simply because the facts may be presented to them in the form of special pleading, and some facts may not be the whole truth and nothing but the truth? To you enlightened beings standing outside, we may seem like little Red Riding Hoods whom you must protect from being devoured by this masquerading wolf. Is it true that these emissaries who would thus preach among us are such deep-dyed wolves of prey? I, for one, cannot believe it; and I have been among them many years and have seen their ways from within and without. Every group of men associated together seems to have its large or small collection of sheep that are quite as white as the others, and the group forming the electric railway exploiters, and the railway field has not been and is not now completely free from them. But some of the finest men in the engineering profession, men of affairs, men of highest honor and upright bearing, are in the electric railway field. It is one of the promising signs of the railway times that the number of such men is on the increase. Moreover, the fact that their association has reached the point that it can put forward and support such a code of principles is one of these very signs.

The electric railways of America are to-day of indispensable value, and their proper maintenance and increase is a question of tremendous importance to every community. If all is not as it should be within this industry, you and I and our neighbor should know it and the sooner the better. The thing to do is not to tear down but to build up, and that in the best possible way. To do this properly we must get all the knowledge possible of the facts in the case. How are we to get at these inside facts, except by getting those within the profession to talk? By all means let us get them to talking, talking freely, so that we may not only hear what they have to say for themselves, but that we may heckle them to our heart's content and our mind's enlightenment. A noted baseball coach once said to his team, "Get the other side to throwing the ball around the bases by all the means at your command. It is only when the other team won't do this that I am afraid that we are going to get whipped."

What about the misstatements, the sophistry, the half-truths which may be showered upon the students in these talks? Not long since a certain city was agitated over the increase of lighting rates imposed upon it by the lighting company. To silence the agitation the lighting company brought in a professional publicity agent who proceeded to fill the newspapers with its talks. These took the form of advertisements with statements full of false logic, misstatements and half-truths. The first talk interested the community, the second amused, the third disgusted, the fourth and those following so angered it that it rose in its might and forced the lighting company to reduce its rates. In the past few years some of the trusts have done much the same thing. Several have sent out gratis to our libraries beautifully prepared books intended to win over the public to supporting them in their rates or monopoly. I have yet to meet a single person who has been won over by their pleadings. The opposite effect has been the more often produced. Many of our college libraries have refused to put these gift books on their shelves. Another example of such publicity gone wrong has lately been before us in connection with the labor troubles in the Colorado coal fields. Such mis-publicity fails completely as a cudgel with which to drive the public. It becomes simply a boomerang, dangerous only to its thrower.

As regards the ten heads of the newly drawn code of principles of this association, you and I may not be willing to approve in full any one of them. It is quite possible that many members of the association may not do so But

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ment. How else are we to do so except by taking these ten heads or their equivalents and waging battle over each? Let us have all the pros and cons. Out of such discussion must come some code which shall serve at least as a gentlemen's agreement between the public and the railways.

The electric railways of to-day, financially and physically, are facing the most complex conditions in their history. Reforms and improvements must come. Frankly speaking, they cannot come from the outside. The public to-day more than ever before possesses tremendous power, and it can compel corporations to do its bidding. But care must be taken lest in its technical and economic ignorance it use this power merely to crush. The lasting reform and improvement can come only from within the organization, and the colleges and the thoughtful public should, and must, play a most important part in bringing this about. We of the colleges are training numbers of our men to become officials in the electric railway field while our other graduates, technical and non-technical, are passing out into active work in other walks of life. If these men have been properly trained they should have more than common knowledge and appreciation of civic problems. They should be an effective power acting to bring the railways and the public closer to each other. Our trouble lies in getting this knowledge and training to our students, knowledge of the good and of the evils.

Since such is the case, let us permit these emissaries of the American Electric Railway Association to come among us and freely preach their "business propoganda," if such it must be called. We need it. It is not less business that we need and want, but more and better business. It is not less touch with the business world that our college people need, it is more. If there is any one thing in which the college of to-day fails, it is in training for real life. It is too much out of touch with the world of actuality. It needs to be more in contact with the pulse of affairs, railway and other. If our graduates are to successfully fight the evils in any field, it will certainly not be when armed in innocence and ignorance.

Easton, Pa. JAMES THERON ROOD.

United States of Europe

SIR: Is it to late for me to send a note on the extremely frank and interesting statement of the European problem which Professor Simon N. Patten contributed to your issue of November fourteenth?

Professor Patten says, "The best way for an American to visualize the European problem is to compare it with our own situation." Then follows an argument which I will try to sum up in my own words: Would the territory of the United States be a better place for individual Americans to live and work in, or constitute a better factor in the civilized world, if it contained as many independent racial and national units as Europe? Ought New York to be now Dutch and independent, Louisiana French, Florida Spanish and Texas Mexican? Ought Lincoln to have allowed the Southern states to secede? But if Americans approve of that centralizing process which has made, often by force of arms, the United States one political and economic super-racial unit, surely they ought to sympathize with the same process when applied by Germany and Austria to Central Europe. In Professor Patten's own words, "We fail to see that the problems of Servia and Bulgaria are the same as those of Carolina, and that their repression would be as advantageous to Europe as the preservation of the Union was to us"; and again, "The melting-pot of civilization is . . . gradually creating new bonds that cement all races, creeds, and tongues into one harmonious whole. For this higher ideal the Germans stand, and against them are the passions, turbulence, and malice of a hundred discordant factions."

Now I am so far in sympathy with Professor Patten that I hope that there will one day exist something like a United States, if not of all Europe, at least of Central and Western Europe; and I have tried to ask myself with as much detachment as war allows whether Professor Patten may be right, and whether my own country may not be fighting against progress. I find myself answering, with what I hope to be sincerity, first, that the kind of unity which I desire for Europe cannot be brought about by the military victory of a single Power or group of Powers; and Powers, but from the acceptance by all the European states

It is obvious that any attempt at unification by conquest is only good if it succeeds. Few students would, I believe, claim that even Napoleon's attempt, with the destruction of life and treasure and the cynical disregard of individual happiness which it involved, did more good than harm to Europe. But Napoleon undoubtedly cleared away many mountains of what Carlyle called "dead unveracities." The attempt which Professor Patten assumes that Germany is now making will, if it fails, leave behind it no good whatsoever to set against its evil. The present position of the war makes it appear likely that Germany, whether ultimately defeated or not, will not succeed in any vast Napoleonic scheme of conquest; and I believe that the balance of force in Europe is such that any similar scheme in the future, whether undertaken by Germany or by any other Power, will have as little chance of success; while half a century of indecisive wars of hegemony might go far to destroy the position of Europe in the world.

But even if unification by conquest were possible, I think that it would be a misfortune for Europe that it should be carried out by the present German and Austro-Hungarian governments, on the lines of their historical policy. Unification by conquest is really successful only when it wins the allegiance of the conquered. The Polish provinces of Prussia were conquered more than a century ago; Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine were conquered half a century ago; and the elections to the Reichstag still show few signs that the conquered populations accept their position. The incident last winter at Zabern would seem to illustrate the reason of this; and I cannot bring myself to believe that, even if every town in Belgium were treated like Zabern for three generations, Belgium at the end of it would be reconciled to her membership in a German "super-racial unit." Nor, if Austria-Hungary forcibly annexed Servia, can I believe that the methods which have failed in Croatia would succeed at Belgrade.

If Europe is ever to attain to such a measure of unity as shall make internecine warfare between the European peoples impossible or improbable, that unity must, come not from the final victory of a militant Power or group of

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As the Wind Listeth

The Song of Songs, an American play in five acts, by Edward Sheldon, based upon the novel by Hermann Sudermann. First presented at the Eltinge Theatre, New York, December 22, 1914.

THERE was a time in the American theatre when the dramatist alluded to an "unchaste" woman as a rhetorician alludes to the behemoth. In France, it was pleasantly allowed, women graded anywhere from a faint pink to a scarlet too hot for naked eyes, but in America women were either as innocent as snow or as unmentionable as lepers. That a woman could "transgress" was admitted, but she properly stood on an island of monogamy surrounded by an ocean of disapproval, and that ocean was infested by every horror of the deep, serpents, sharks and sword-fish, beasts to which the male was more or less immune, but to which the female was as carrion to the crow.

And now, unashamed on the American stage, appears the open record of a woman who has no more prejudice about chastity as such than a broker has prejudice about loans. It is not as if Lily Kardos in "The Song of Songs" was a woman who came in out of her dark past as a person comes in out of the night, bringing on to the stage a faint suggestion of her passage, a few drops of rain on her veil. In "The Song of Songs" the four walls of assumptions about chastity are fallen completely away. We stand, probably for the first time in the history of American plays, in the world of instincts unquestioned. We stand before a woman who, in her heart of hearts, has not the least sense of obligation to conform to ordinary presumptions about her body and her heart.

This, in the American theatre, is something on which to dwell, especially as the New York audience accepts "The Song of Songs" without a single apparent moral twinge. But while there is nothing in the play to disguise for one moment Lily's absence of the sense of sin, it is hard to believe that the audience really sanctioned that absence, or took it for anything but a personal aberration. It is hard to believe that this play got its fidelity to feminine psychology under the skin of American men. Are men ready to admit that to a woman sexual intimacy, as such, means nothing but a ready instinctive concession in her search for the mate of her soul? If this idea is really being accepted, it marks a liberality toward woman which is not usually found in the personal reactions of American husbands, not to speak of brothers and sons.

When one perused Sudermann's novel, its version of Lily seemed continental. But there is nothing of what is loosely called Tuetonic about the psychology of Mr. Edward Sheldon's play. From the boardwalk bazaar of Atlantic City to the private dining-room of the Beaux Arts the background of Lily Kardos's life is thoroughly domesticated, and Senator Daniel E. Calkins, the old minotaur who marries the "chicken," is no more Tuetonic than the taste for beer. The scene in which Lily agrees to marry the Senator may seem far-fetched. But how do young girls come to marry their repulsive guzzling elders? The answer is not Tuetonism, however one may wonder at Lily's simple assent. Nor is there anything Tuetonic in the ease with which Lily accepts her rôle as Laird's mistress when the infuriated husband drives her out. Here if anywhere, a girl might "fight for her chastity," but there is nothing in Lily to make her resist the one man who loves her, the one man who wants her as she is. Similarly, it is equally natural that, having got drunk under the guidance of that young hopeful's shrewd uncle—a scene that makes people guffaw in the theatre—she should be flung back to the establishment where her protector gives her a "home." The latter's persistent love is the one assumption that most people will question as a triumph of romanticism over typical fact.

Those who have read Sudermann's "Song of Songs" will remember the fulness with which the German novelist recounts the sexual career of his heroine. It is one of the faults of Mr. Sheldon's drama that he has labored so faithfully to reproduce so much of the book. Adopting a style very different from Sudermann's—a style occasionally poetized but usually brisk, pungent, coarsely amusing—Mr. Sheldon has not failed to make his characters talk American. In Lily's transition from shopgirl to Senator's wife at Tarrytown, N.Y., from wife to mistress in East Fortieth street, her context is honestly familiar and almost overwhelmingly reinforced. It is, indeed, in its energetic documentation that "The Song of Songs" is a burden to behold. Where the play sags is not, to my mind, in its reading of Lily but in its impossible attempt to give circumstantial value to incidents so crowded and so diverse. Excellently as Miss Irene Fenwick realizes Lily, there is no chance amid changes so harried and hurried to fix the needed conviction that Lily has a soul. The recurrent allusion to "The Song of Songs" is, I suppose, intended to exalt us to that conviction. Personally, such symbolism no more moves me than the protector's babble about Aphrodite. One visible indication that Lily hated to be parted from her lover, one touch of shy yearning or unconscious eagerness of desire, would mean more than the most deliberate emphasis on the song. To many people this refrain may spell beauty. To me it spells bathos, and marks Sudermann as theatric and crass.

Despite its limitations as a play, however, "The Song of Songs" is a real contribution to our theatre. In a civilization where the divorce between morality and instinct is pretty nearly complete, where vice and virtue are neatly tabulated, and the sexes decreed to observe conflicting egoisms rather than accommodate inconvenient aspirations and possibilities, it is well, though painful, to have a woman put before us who is acknowledgedly not persuaded by the standards which as children we ourselves were led to adopt. Call her a moral imbecile, if you like, or call her a "strumpet," as most of the men do in the play. She is still a woman, like unto most women; a "regular person"; and the characteristics denoted in her will recur in other daughters of Eve as the markings will recur on the leaves of the immemorial oak.

For most of us, perhaps, the acknowledgment that instinct is at war with morality, that the life-force is at war with chastity, is a reality pregnant with pain. We like to think of our wives, and ourselves, as faithful. We like to think of abiding love, of perfect candor, of conciliation, of thorough understanding, of equal desires and equal fulfillments, of adjustments consummate and final. But if individualism is ever to be effected satisfactorily, the invincible demands of instinct are the first things that we must prepare to admit. It is instinct that speaks to society in "The Song of Songs": "I called him, but he gave me no answer; the watchman that went about the city found me, they smote, they wounded me, the keepers of the walls took away my veil." Perhaps it is the al-

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Books and Things

A SOBER *green volume, lately published by the Oxford* University Press, and called "Essays by Matthew Arnold," reminds me of an evening I spent, almost thirty years ago, in the smoking-room of a German hotel, where I had no business. If anybody had asked me why I'd left my pension in another part of Dresden, and was hanging about that smoking-room, too young to give myself a status there by ordering a drink, I should not have told the truth. Mr. Matthew Arnold, who was inspecting the schools of Saxony, was staying in that hotel, and I hoped he might come to the smoking-room after dinner. At that moment there was nothing I wanted quite so much as to see him and to hear him talk. At last he entered. At last he talked. It would have been hard for me to say whether his appearance or his talk was the deeper disappointment. He sat down near a French actress, but what he said to her did not sound at all like "Faster, faster, O Circe, Goddess!" He said, "Avez-vous bien dormi?" Of Hungary, where he had lately been a circuitous wanderer, he merely remarked that in one town, where his host had an English wife, he had been very comfortable. Although he spoke of Virgil, he didn't even allude to the sense of tears in mortal things. He recited three or four lines of the Aeneid, just to illustrate by imitation the charmlessness with which English schoolboys pronounced Latin.

Young enough to feel disappointed, I was not young enough to stay so. After a few bitter days I began to admit that the best that is known and thought in the world cannot always be propagated after dinner, that sad lucidity of soul may be inappropriate to a hotel smoking-room. Being determined to recover from the Hebraism with which seventeen New England years had afflicted me, to let my stock notions dissolve, to acquire Hellenism, I was soon afloat again upon the stream of Matthew Arnold's thinking. It would have been difficult for me at that time to measure my gratitude to him. I was eager to part with what he took away, eager to receive what he gave. Most of my contemporaries had been overexposed to divine worship, and what was most irksome in the Christianity then prevalent in New England, a rather bleak inflexible Christianity, Matthew Arnold gently and insistently effaced. The Greece he bade us look to and learn from was not the Greece revealed to the youth of to-day by Gilbert Murray and Alfred Zimmern. It was quieter, simpler, more serene, more nearly stationary, *marmor-schöner*. Its differences from our own epoch were less perplexing, its superiorities to our epoch more incontestable. Matthew Arnold's Greece was above all more edifying than Mr. Zimmern's or Mr. Gilbert Murray's. It was adequate to the task of seeing us safely through the contemporary world, of insuring us against being made dull by business or wild by passion.

Seventeen is doubtless the proper age for a deliberate re-valuation of life. Matthew Arnold, who would have detested such a phrase, helped us re-value life not only by what he wrote but by what he was. We knew that he was inordinately busy, and that business had not dulled his brightness. We knew that neither passion nor anything else had made him wild. His serenity was indisputable. Looking back now, I rather marvel at our admiration of it. Only very mild youngsters could have made [illegible] with a serenity which such a temperate tu- said in the world is an unfinished thing.

that he hadn't much time left for tumult. He was a man in whom the didactic impulse, no matter what the substance of his teaching had been, would have said "Peace, be still," to his other impulses. We were oddly ready, it seems to me, to believe his other impulses as strong and as hard to manage as he thought them. We were a little slow to understand that one of the surest ways not to see life whole is to see it too steadily. We had been puzzled by his assertion that poetry is a criticism of life. Some of us thought it a hard saying. None of us realized how near Matthew Arnold came to believing that life itself is a criticism of life.

"His foot is in the *vera vita,* his eye on the beatific vision." The *vera vita* Matthew Arnold looked forward to and worked for was an ordered life, equable, salutary, curious, humane, discriminating, led by men and women who had plenty of time left for culture. Time left from what? From the unavoidable activities and routines which he somewhat neglected. This neglect is one of the reasons why the present younger generation, knocking at the usual place, so seldom asks at the door for Mr. Matthew Arnold, who did not distinguish between the better ways and the worse, the more wholesome and the less, in which these unavoidable activities and routines may be pursued; who was incurious as to the possibility of reducing, for pretty much everybody, the proportion of life that must be given over to these activities. "The best man," so he quotes the Socrates of the Memorabilia, "is he who most tries to protect himself." Nowadays the younger generation prefers to get its definition from Schopenhauer, who says the mark of a good man is "dass er weniger, als sonst geschiet, ein Unterschied macht zwischen sich und anderen." You must cure people of poverty before you can profitably set about teaching them the best that has been known and thought in the world. To make life as bearable for all of us as it now is for some of us—here, and not upon self-culture, our younger generation puts its characteristic emphasis.

Well, the next best thing to being young is remembering that youth was once our privilege. It is pleasant to remember what Matthew Arnold did for some of us, who were young in the last century's eighties. He bettered our enjoyment of books. He made us feel, rather intimately, the presence or the absence of the grand style, natural magic, fluidity and sweet ease, the lyrical cry. He gave us the illusion that we too were incapable of confusing elegance and nobleness, of mistaking *simplesse* for *simplicité*. With what confidence we used to distinguish, in those early days, between the best and the not quite so good! What days were those, Parmenides, when we scorned the attempt to put upon the tail of any bird any salt that was not Attic! Conscious as we then were of Greek aspirations and Greek avoidances, of a desire to recapture and to domesticate the accent of Greek prose, we were just beginning to be aware, uneasily, of giant shapes of distance away in the north, of dim Russian and Scandinavian masters, portentous and modern, soon to grow distinct and unescapable, soon to make us forget the pure lines of Ionian horizons, the liquid clearness of Ionian skies. Surely it honors Matthew Arnold that he was able to feel, almost at the end of his life, the new greatness of one of these northern masters, whose advent made us realize that the best that has been thought and

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Richard the Lion-Harding

With the Allies, by Richard Harding Davis. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.00 net.

FROM the outset of his career, when he was writing stories curiously accomplished for so young a man, it has been Mr. Richard Harding Davis's misfortune to excite in many of his many readers a slight prejudice against him. The years have not weakened this prejudice, although they should have. When a writer is fifty, or thereabouts, and has published many self-revealing volumes, you may or may not like him, but prejudice ought long ago to have disappeared.

In Mr. Davis's case the operation of prejudice is easily described. Toward the end of one of his books you come across a passage which may be taken, let us suppose, in either of two senses. You promptly take it in the sense less favorable to Mr. Davis. Prejudice inclines you to this less favorable interpretation, and it is the author himself, in earlier passages, who has unwittingly prepared you to understand the later passage as he never meant it to be understood.

It is easy to find examples of this in "With the Allies." Mr. Davis is praising the work done by certain Americans in Paris: "At the residence of Mr. Herrick, in the rue François Premier, there was an impromptu staff composed chiefly of young American bankers, lawyers and business men. They were men who inherited, or who earned, incomes of from twenty thousand to fifty thousand a year, and all day and every day, without pay, and certainly without thanks, they assisted their bewildered, penniless and homesick fellow countrymen." Mr. Davis does not intend to imply that the nobleness of such conduct varies with the size of the income. He does not intend to imply that the nobleness is the same whether the income be dependent upon the young banker's exertions or inherited and continuous. Yet an unsympathetic reader is, by the time he reaches this passage, prepared to seek and find both implications.

Mr. Davis is a genuine admirer of courage, chivalry toward women and undemonstrativeness. He has an unaffected natural talent for praising them in words which inspire one with a passing distaste for these good things. Have you never, although you may be rather chivalrous yourself, in a modest way, risen from the perusal of Mr. Davis on chivalry with a determination never again, no matter how infirm the woman standing in front of you might be, or how heavy-laden, to rise from your seat in the car for her sake? And instead of thanking him for releasing you from the bondage of chivalry, haven't you sometimes been rather annoyed with him for cheapening chivalry by his praise?

Fortunately for chivalry, there is next to nothing about it in "With the Allies." There is, however, and unavoidably, much about courage. Mr. Davis describes with vividness the undemonstrative curt courage of British officers, and somehow you get a picture not only of this courage, but also of Mr. Davis himself, sitting opposite each curtly courageous British officer, filling himself with an admiration which will overflow by and by, in romantic eulogy of courage so undemonstrative.

Of Mr. Davis's own courage, which is the real thing, which has been proved over and over again all over the world, there is in "With the Allies," as in all his other books, neither romantic eulogy, nor any eulogy whatever. Something deeper than prejudice against Mr. Davis, some article which praised in others virtues his code compels him a brave man. In no way can a war correspondent whose heart is in his work avoid imparting this kind of information.

There is nevertheless, in Mr. Davis's attitude toward his own courage, something subtly self-contradictory. One gets, along with a conviction that he is brave, and a conviction that he sincerely wishes never to boast of this fact, a hint here and there of a hardly conscious wish to let us know that if the hour struck for him he too would die like an English gentleman, without pose, laconically, sans phrase, as part of the day's work, as a matter of course. One suspects him, in his own case, of wanting us to value at its true worth a courage which he is too good an English gentleman to value so highly. He really possesses many of the fine qualities he praises in other men, and he seems dimly uneasy under the yoke of a code which does not permit him to praise these qualities wherever they are found.

As for this code, so special and so highly esteemed, one infers that it does not preclude an occasional reference to the war correspondent's own predicament: "Maxim's, which now reminds one only of the last act of 'The Merry Widow,' was the meeting-place for the French and English officers from the front; the American military attachés from our embassy, among whom were soldiers, sailors, aviators, marines; the doctors and volunteer nurses from the American ambulance, and the correspondents who by night dined in Paris and by day dodged arrest and other things on the firing-line, or as near it as they could motor without going to jail."

Maxim's, and the life there in war time, make Mr. Davis almost reflective. "When the English officers are granted leave of absence," he writes, "they . . . motor into Paris for a bath and lunch. At eight they leave the trenches along the Aisne and by noon arrive at Maxim's, Voisin's or Larue's. Seldom does war present a sharper contrast. From a breakfast of 'bully' beef, eaten from a tin plate, within their nostrils the smell of campfires, dead horses and unwashed bodies, they find themselves seated on red velvet cushions, surrounded by mirrors and walls of white and gold, and spread before them the most immaculate silver, linen and glass. And the odors that assail them are those of truffles, white wine and *'artichaut sauce mousseline.'*" Mr. Davis finds the contrast not only sharp. He finds it more significant, subtly sweeter and dearer, than some of us can find it, no matter how hard we try. In his eyes, one imagines, it's a contrast of which the British privates could give only an inferior intimation if they should leave the trenches at eight, travel third class to Paris, lunch amid the complicated odors of an *établissement Duval*, or drink, at one of the *prix fixe* places, *vin compris*.

Cleanly bred English gentlemen, well educated, finely trained, who know how to risk their lives quietly, without phrases or fuss, and how to order a meal—we read a good deal about them in "With the Allies," and as we read we trace our slight prejudice against Mr. Davis to its source, to our suspicion that in his eyes physical courage is not very much more important than good form in courage, that he overrates the code which defines correctness on the battlefield for the members of a laconic polo-playing class.

A perfect day, for Mr. Davis, would consist of a morning's danger, taken as a matter of course; in the afternoon a little chivalry, equally a matter-of-course to a well-bred man; then a motor dash from hardship to some great city, a bath, a perfect dinner nobly planned. Shrapnel, chivalry, *sauce mousseline*, and so to work the next morning on an

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The Paradox

Modern Industry, in Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality, by Florence Kelley. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $1.00 net.

FORTUNATELY there are people in the world who cannot keep still. Neglect does not shut them off and abuse merely stimulates them. If they are advised by cautious elderly persons that their agitation is pernicious, they reply that they cannot help it. "To be told," said Lowell, and his words were echoed by all the abolitionists, "that we ought not to agitate the question of slavery, when it is that which is forever agitating us, is like telling a man with the fever and ague on him to stop shaking and he will be cured."

One cannot read Mrs. Kelley's book without feeling that "the fever and ague" is on her. It is no objective and iced presentation of the evils of our modern industry with careful qualifying clauses, but warm with an emotion only half revealed. Mrs. Kelley shows us the actual wage-earners who suffer from the disease which we call industrial life. We see the men and women struggling under the burden of an impossibly low wage; the migratory workers, living from hand to mouth by casual jobs, sleeping in dirty freight cars and vermin-filled bunkhouses, and condemned by the very nature of their occupations to a not too fastidious celibacy. We see the men killed "in the ordinary course of their employment," the daughters and even the wives drafted into industry, the deterioration of the workman's home, the persistence of the sweatshop, the spread of industrial disease, that grim "by-product" of the factory, the wholesale and merciless exploitation of young children. We are taken into a mill where a white-haired man, a native American, able to read and write, stands ten hours a day, "watching an endless procession of cans to which the lids would later be attached. This work called for no quality of mind, but sustained attention to a horrible monotony. The man watched perpetually for dents in tin cans, and when a can was dented he removed it, using one hand at long intervals. He needed good sight in order never to miss a dent. Thirteen years he had sat there, day after day, looking at cans."

Throughout the book one feels this amazed horror of the author at the meaningless tragedy of it all. Modern industry is the paradox. It provides food, shelter, clothing, the bases of life, health and education, but destroys them all in their making. The men who manufacture clothes go ragged; the men who build houses bunk in wretched shanties; the men who construct the railroads walk downcast along the ties, seeking precarious and ill-paid jobs. Wealth increases, but it is not to the many, and it is not the wealth that is life.

The indictment no doubt is overdrawn, and the remedies suggested not quite satisfying. Yet though here and there the author is evidently ignoring or at least underemphasizing developments which are not consistent with her argument, the value of such a presentation as this of Mrs. Kelley's is unquestioned. We are all too prone to take industrial progress for granted, to measure that progress by standards which bear no consistent relation to the welfare of the many, to apply a purely mechanistic interpretation to our ever growing, ever expanding economic system. We forget that statistics of production are not everything, and that some of the human factors in industry escape all measurement. To emphasize these

What Might Be In Education

What Is and What Might Be; In Defence of What Might Be, by Edmond Holmes. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $1.25 net each.

THE idea of what education might do for the child enlists an ever deepening share of the wistfulness of the present generation. They turn again and again the pages of the men and women who have written these latter years out of the fulness of their idealism and experimentation—Tolstoy in Russia, Ferrer in Spain, Ellen Key in Sweden, Mme. Montessori in Italy, and our own Professor Dewey, whose influence has gone in a thousand indirect ways to fertilize and liberate our American thought. No one has written, however, with a more exasperated sense than the English Mr. Holmes of that old, mad, bad world from which we are trying to escape. Himself an inspector of elementary public schools for many years, his philosophy of education has evolved under the directest observation of a system which seems to have been contrived with almost diabolical ingenuity to thwart the realization of the purpose for which it was instituted.

The American educational system, with its disciplinary methods, its fine schoolhouses and hygienic desks and ventilating systems, its text-books and charts and marks and promotions and hierarchical organization of teaching function, has certainly achieved a triumph of mechanism. The perfection of the machine is in such contrast to the flimsiness of the product that we can only conclude that there must have been some misconception as to the nature of the raw material. Whatever may have been the cause in England, it is easy to see in America the effects of an utterly inadequate psychology. Whatever may be the lip-service that teachers pay to the theories of Dewey and Montessori, however much the educational world may pretend to agree with Mr. Holmes that "the function of education is to foster growth," the world still acts exactly as if it believed that the child was nothing more than an isolated animal with a mind, into which ideas were to be ladled by the teacher. The discipline of the classroom is a device to keep the children receptive while this process is going on. Examination and recitation are devices to test the success of the ladling. Marks and promotions are partly convenient pigeon-holes for classification, and partly appeals to the emulative instincts of children to familiarize themselves with facts about which they care nothing.

There is a deal of talk in the teaching world about "making children think for themselves," but no teacher suggests the need of examining the conditions of successful thinking. Children are put together in a classroom, rigidly isolated from each other. Their spontaneous expression is checked, their curiosity formalized, the presence of others harasses and disturbs instead of stimulating. No wonder that when school is out, they shake off the harness like a colt and go galloping into the real world. Mr. Holmes, in a passage which should be read for the sheer glow of the "what might be," describes "Egeria's" school in an English village, where, in an atmosphere of perfect freedom the children were so absorbed in their work that some of the class of fifty read silently to themselves while the others were playing a dramatic game in another part of the same room. It is not money, or numbers, or the personality of our teachers that is at fault with us. It is a careless and mechanical philosophy of life. And if this philosophy is one with "the spirit of Western civilization," then those who wish to assert freedom and life against

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Drift and Mastery

By Walter Lippmann

Author of "A Preface to Politics"

From "TWO NOTEWORTHY BOOKS on DEMOCRACY"

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT, in *The Outlook*

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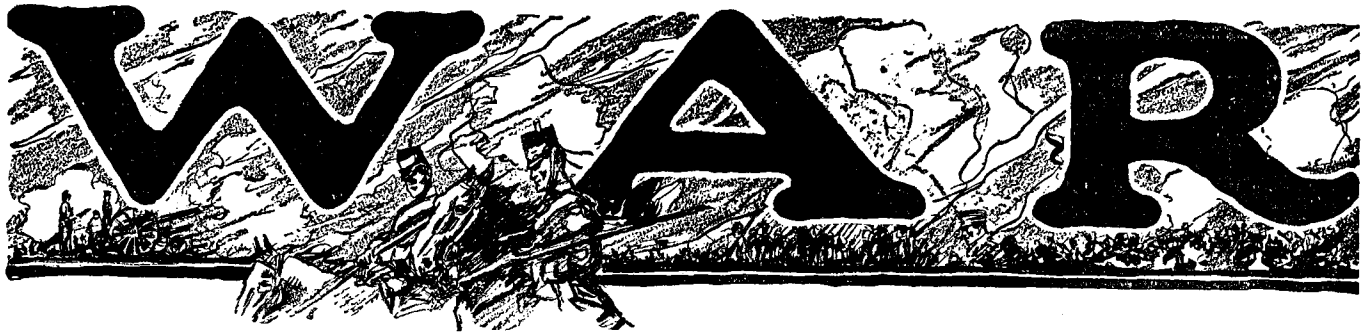

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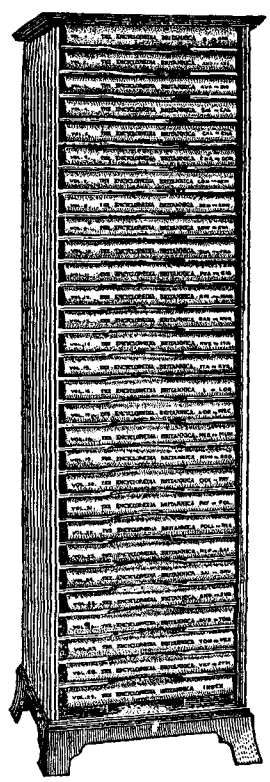

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